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THE  
OXYRHYNCHUS PAPYRI

PART XXVII

*EDITED WITH TRANSLATIONS AND NOTES*

BY

E. G. TURNER, M.A., F.B.A.

PROFESSOR OF PAPYROLOGY IN THE UNIVERSITY OF LONDON

JOHN REA, B.A., PH.D.

LECTURER IN CHRIST CHURCH, OXFORD

L. KOENEN, DR. PHIL.

CUSTOS IN THE UNIVERSITY OF COLOGNE

JOSE M<sup>A</sup> FERNANDEZ POMAR, PH.D.

KEEPER OF THE DEPARTMENT OF MANUSCRIPTS IN THE NATIONAL LIBRARY OF MADRID

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## PREFACE

OF the texts included in this volume, Turner has taken as his share the dramatic pieces 2452-62 and 2467 (but excluding the *Telephus* fragments 2460), the fragments of Satyrus assembled as 2465, and the description of the drawing 2470; Rea has made himself responsible for the remaining literary texts (*Telephus* 2460, 2463-4, 2466, 2468-9) and all of the documents 2471-80 except 2474 and 2480. 2474 is the work of Koenen, 2480 of Pomar. Turner wishes to acknowledge the help and stimulus received from submitting the texts edited by him to a seminar held in the Institute of Classical Studies: he is under a particular debt of gratitude to Professors T. B. L. Webster and A. M. Webster, and to Mr. E. W. Handley. Professor T. B. L. Webster has added to that debt by reading the proofs. Koenen would like to thank Professor E. Seidl for advice and Mr. Henry Maas for help in Englishing his contribution.

For the first time since 1941 the name of E. Lobel is absent from the title page of a volume of the *Oxyrhynchus Papyri*. Nevertheless these covers include much that is indebted to preliminary work of his. He has suggested identifications of some of the literary texts here published and in the case of 2452-3 and 2455 made a preliminary collection of the pieces that appeared to be written in the same hand. Moreover, the identification and transcript (including almost all the supplements) of Satyrus' work 2465 were first made by him. For the form in which it is here set out Turner must take responsibility, but he is conscious that he has made no significant addition to his predecessor's text.

It is a pleasure as well as a duty to thank U.N.E.S.C.O. for a subvention of 500 dollars in aid of publication, and to compliment Messrs. R. & R. Clark on their alertness and accuracy.

November 1961

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## CONTENTS

	PAGE
PREFACE . . . . .	v
LIST OF PLATES . . . . .	ix
TABLE OF PAPYRI . . . . .	xi
NOTE ON THE METHOD OF PUBLICATION AND ABBREVIATIONS . . . . .	xii

### TEXTS

I. NEW CLASSICAL FRAGMENTS (2452-66) . . . . .	I
II. EXTANT CLASSICAL TEXTS (2467-9) . . . . .	137
III. DRAWING (2470) . . . . .	146
DOCUMENTS OF THE ROMAN AND BYZANTINE PERIODS (2471-80) . . . . .	146

### INDEXES

I. NEW LITERARY TEXTS :	
(a) 2452-63 . . . . .	201
(b) 2464-9 . . . . .	209
II. EMPERORS AND REGNAL YEARS . . . . .	211
III. CONSULS . . . . .	212
IV. INDICATIONS . . . . .	212
V. MONTHS . . . . .	212
VI. PERSONAL NAMES . . . . .	213
VII. GEOGRAPHICAL :	
(a) Countries, Nomes, Toparchies, Cities, &c. . . . .	215
(b) Villages, &c. . . . .	216
(c) Miscellaneous . . . . .	216
VIII. RELIGION . . . . .	216
IX. OFFICIAL AND MILITARY TERMS AND TITLES. . . . .	216
X. PROFESSIONS, TRADES, AND OCCUPATIONS . . . . .	217
XI. WEIGHTS, MEASURES, COINS . . . . .	217
XII. TAXES . . . . .	217
XIII. GENERAL INDEX OF WORDS. . . . .	217

## LIST OF PLATES

- I. 2452 fr. 4, 5 2461 fr. 1-5 2462
- II. 2452 fr. 1, 2, 3, 6
- III. 2453 fr. 44-64 2456
- IV. 2455 fr. 14 cols. xiii and xiv, 15 2457 2468 fr. 2
- V. 2459 fr. 3 2466 2467 fr. 1-2 2469
- VI. 2455 fr. 5 col. v, 6 col. vi, 8 col. viii, 9 col. ? 2459 fr. 2
- VII. 2465 fr. 1-3, 7-8, 11-12, 18-19, 21
- VIII. 2458 fr. 1-4 2465 fr. 5-6, 9-10, 13-15, 17, 20
- IX. 2464 (part) 2455 fr. 10-12
- X. 2459 fr. 1 2463 2471
- XI. 2454
- XII. 2470

} *at end*

## NUMBERS AND PLATES

	PLATE
2452 fr. 1, 2, 3, 6 . . . . .	II
fr. 4, 5 . . . . .	I
2453 fr. 44-64 . . . . .	III
2454 . . . . .	XI
2455 fr. 5, 6, 8, 9 . . . . .	VI
fr. 10-12 . . . . .	IX
fr. 14 (cols. xiii and xiv), 15 . . . . .	IV
2456 . . . . .	III
2457 . . . . .	IV
2458 fr. 1-4 . . . . .	VIII
2459 fr. 1 . . . . .	X
fr. 2 . . . . .	VI
fr. 3 . . . . .	V

## LIST OF PLATES

	PLATE
2461 frs. 1-5 . . . . .	I
2462 . . . . .	I
2463 . . . . .	X
2464 (part) . . . . .	IX
2465 frs. 1-3, 7-8, 11-12, 18-19, 21 . . . . .	VII
frs. 5-6, 9-10, 13-15, 17, 20 . . . . .	VIII
2466 . . . . .	V
2467 frs. 1-2 . . . . .	V
2468 fr. 2 . . . . .	IV
2469 . . . . .	V
2470 . . . . .	XII
2471 . . . . .	X

## TABLE OF POPYRI

	A.D.	PAGE
2452. Sophocles, <i>Theseus</i> . . . . .	Later 2nd cent.	I
2453. Sophocles, <i>Polyidos</i> or <i>Manteis</i> and other plays . . . . .	2nd cent.	20
2454. Anon, <i>Heracles on Oeta</i> . . . . .	2nd cent.	27
2455. Hypotheses of Euripides' Plays. . . . .	Early 2nd cent.	32
2456. List of Euripides' Plays . . . . .	2nd cent.	69
2457. Hypotheses of Euripides' <i>Alcestis</i> and <i>Aeolus</i> . . . . .	Early 2nd cent.	70
2458. Euripides, <i>Cresphontes</i> . . . . .	3rd cent.	73
2459. Euripides, <i>Oedipus</i> . . . . .	4th cent.	81
2460. Euripides, <i>Telephus</i> . . . . .	Late 1st cent.	87
2461. Euripides, <i>Theseus</i> (?) . . . . .	Mid-2nd cent.	100
2462. Titles of Menander's Comedies . . . . .	1st half of 2nd cent.	103
2463. Commentary on a Poetic Text (?) . . . . .	2nd to 3rd cent.	104
2464. Hyperides (?), <i>Πρὸς τὴν τοῦ Δημέου παραγραφὴν</i> (?) . . . . .	3rd cent.	110
2465. Satyrus, <i>On the Demes of Alexandria</i> . . . . .	2nd cent.	118
2466. History (?) . . . . .	3rd cent.	134
2467. Menander, <i>Dyscolus</i> . . . . .	Late 2nd cent.	137
2468. Plato, <i>Politicus</i> . . . . .	2nd cent.	138
2469. Aristodemus . . . . .	2nd cent.	141
2470. Drawing . . . . .	3rd cent.	146
2471. Cancellation of a <i>συγχώρησις</i> of Loan . . . . .	About A.D. 50	146
2472. Report from <i>ἐπιτηρηταί</i> . . . . .	A.D. 119	149
2473. Petition to a <i>Strategus</i> . . . . .	A.D. 229	153
2474. Will of a Roman Citizen . . . . .	3rd cent.	155
2475-7. Privileges of Athletes and Dionysiac Artists . . . . .	A.D. 289	162
2478. Deed of Surety . . . . .	A.D. 595 or 596	175
2479. Petition from a <i>Colonus</i> . . . . .	6th cent.	177
2480. Account for the Issue of Wine . . . . .	Prob. A.D. 565-6	181

## NOTE ON THE METHOD OF PUBLICATION AND ABBREVIATIONS

THE method of publication follows that adopted in Part XXIV. As there, the dots indicating letters unread and, within square brackets, the estimated number of lost letters are printed slightly below the line. In the new literary texts, corrections and annotations which appear to be in a different hand from that of the original scribe are printed in thick type. Non-literary texts are printed in modern form, with accents and punctuation, the lectional signs occurring in the papyri being noted in the *apparatus criticus*, where also faults of orthography, &c., are corrected. Iota adscript is printed where written, otherwise iota subscript is used. Square brackets [ ] indicate a lacuna, round brackets ( ) the resolution of a symbol or abbreviation, angular brackets < > a mistaken omission in the original, braces { } a superfluous letter or letters, double square brackets [ ] a deletion, the signs ' ' an insertion above the line. Dots within brackets represent the estimated number of letters lost or deleted, dots outside brackets mutilated or otherwise illegible letters. Dots under letters indicate that the reading is doubtful. In the new literary texts letters not read or marked as doubtful in the literal transcript may be read or appear without the dot marking doubt in the reconstruction if the context justifies this. Lastly, heavy Arabic numerals refer to Oxyrhynchus papyri printed in this and preceding volumes, ordinary numerals to lines, small Roman numerals to columns.

The abbreviations used are in the main identical with those in Liddell and Scott, *Greek-English Lexicon* (ninth ed.). It is hoped that any new ones will be self-explanatory.

## I NEW CLASSICAL FRAGMENTS

2452. SOPHOCLES, *THESEUS*

Later second century.

A large number of fragments, only seven of them reaching a moderate size, from a roll containing a play about the exploits of Theseus in Crete. Fr. 1. 4 gives the name of a character as ]*cevc*. In fr. 3 a speaker (who is not actually named in text or margin) recalls how he humbled Sinis, the sow of Crommyon, and Sciron: this can be no other than Theseus bracing himself for a still greater ordeal. In fr. 4 the names Ariadne and Eriboea are given in the margin to speakers in a lyrical *commos*.

Both Sophocles and Euripides wrote a *Theseus*. The repeated *κατελείγατε* in fr. 5. 11 is the only indication I can find in these fragments in favour of Euripides<sup>1</sup> (cf. *Or.* 324, 339 repeated *καθικετεύομαι, κατολοφύρομαι*). But there is much that points to Sophocles. The diction has the characteristic Sophoclean distinction, and shows his fondness for new coinages (e.g. *τρίφ[υλ]ος*, fr. 3. 15; *ξυμπάραυλος*, *ibid.* 18) and for transferred usage (e.g. *ἀννόςτατος*, *ibid.* 20). More telling is the use of certain quite ordinary words and turns of phrase, such as *ἄπειμι τοίνυν*, fr. 1. 4. Sophocles twice elsewhere writes these words, each time with a strong stop after *τοίνυν*, and each time, as here, towards or at the end of an episode (*O.T.* 444, Teiresias' indignant exit; *El.* 1050, Chrysothemis' decision to leave Electra by herself). Euripides' use is different: he usually makes a break after *ἄπειμι*, placing it first in the line. But almost always this word is the last word of a sentence, in which the motive for departure is first explained; and he never writes *ἄπειμι τοίνυν*. A second Sophoclean echo is found in the opening of the lyric fr. 1. 6 *εἴην ὄθι* [: the second stasimon at *O.C.* 1044 opens with exactly these two words. Further, fr. 2. 5 *κάτοιςθα, πῶς δ' οὐ;* finds an echo in *O.T.* 567 *παρέσχομεν, πῶς δ' οὐχί;* Again, *ξυνήμι*, fr. 2. 9 is a typically Sophoclean word, rarely used by Euripides and not at all in the first person singular indicative, a position in which Sophocles puts it six times (see n. ad loc.). Fr. 3. 12 *καὶ νῦν πέποιθα τοῦτον* [ finds a counterpart in *Aj.*

<sup>1</sup> But W. B. Stanford reminds me of similar repetitions in Sophocles, e.g. *Aj.* 396-7 *ἔλεσθ' ἔλεσθέ μ' οἰκήτορα, ἔλεσθέ μ'.*

### III

## DOCUMENTS OF THE ROMAN AND BYZANTINE PERIODS

#### 2470. DRAWING

15.2 × 13 cms.

Third century. Plate.

This lively coloured drawing was found in company with third-century documents. It shows on the top left the thighs and legs of a booted athlete, whose sex one would guess from the colour employed to be male. He is facing right and seems to be swinging on a trapeze (a *καλοπαίκτης*, cf. 2480 43). At the bottom left, and apparently moving to the left, to judge from the marks made by his hind paws, a bear rears up in an attempt to reach the athlete. In the top centre a ring, garland or hoop seems also to be travelling to the left, in view of the spreading tangential strokes at its lower right. The impression given by the composition is that the athlete is swinging above the bear on a trapeze from which he will launch himself through the ring thrown towards him. A broad streak of red colour spreads upward from a beginning near the bottom right hand side, then turns back and reappears at the top right edge of the papyrus. This red colour is not outlined with pen strokes, as is the rest of the composition. The colour washes used are: reddish-brown for the athlete's legs (boots uncoloured), deep dull brown for the bear, violet for the ring.

Some downward-curving ink-strokes above the athlete could be the feet of letters constituting a name and might read ] *ερσως*, though this termination should give a woman's name. The papyrus was folded three or four times in a vertical direction, and down two of the central folds, 3.5 cms. apart, there are remains of sewing, with threads still in place in the sewing-holes. The closeness of these two sewings rules out the possibility that this drawing was made on two facing leaves of a codex. The sewings give the impression of repair work.

#### 2471. CANCELLATION OF A *συχώρησις* OF LOAN

10.5 × 14 cms.

About A.D. 50.

This document concerns the repayment of a loan made to a certain Chaeremon in Pharmouthi (March/April) A.D. 49 by the brothers Demetrius and

Isidorus. The loan was paid to Chaeremon by a cheque through the bank of Narcissus and he returned it in instalments by cheques through the same bank and also through one owned by the brothers. By this document the loan contract and the cheques are cancelled and the brothers renounce all claim on Chaeremon. The original contract must have resembled 1471, where the form is the same (*συχώρησις*) and the cancellation is shown by its being crossed through.

The foot is lost and about fifteen letters are missing from the beginnings of the remaining lines, but the length of the line is established by the date formula in l. 16 and there are many parallels to help the restorations. The verso is blank. The hand is unusually carefully written for a document.

The two bankers are Roman citizens and Alexandrians. Demetrius is, in addition, priest, gymnasiarch and one of the number of those who were immune from taxes and maintained in the Mouseion at Alexandria. I have found no identifiable reference to them elsewhere.

*ἀρχιδικαστῆ καὶ] πρὸς τῆι ἐ[πιμε]λείᾳ τῶν χ[ρημ]ατιστῶν  
καὶ τῶν ἄλλων κριτηρίων  
παρὰ Τιβερίων Κλαυδίῳ Βίωνος υἱ[ῶ]ν Κύρεια Δη[μητρί]ου καὶ Ἰου-  
δώρου ] Δημητρίου καὶ Ἰ[σιδώρου ἀμφοτέρ]ων Βίωνος  
5 Δημητρίου ἱερέως καὶ γυμνασιάρχου καὶ τῶν ἐν  
τῷ Μουσεῖῳ σιτουμέν]ων ἀτελῶν καὶ παρὰ Χαιρήμονος τοῦ Ἄλε-  
συ]νχωροῦμεν πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἐπὶ τοῖσδε ὥστε  
ἐπεὶ ἀπεσχῆκασι ὁ ] τε [Δη]μήτριος καὶ ὁ Ἰσίδωρος παρὰ τοῦ Χαιρή-  
μονος καὶ δι' αὐτοῦ Χαιρήμονος καὶ δι' ἐτέρων κατὰ τε τὰς προ-  
10 τέρας διαγραφὰς τ]ῆς Ναρκίσσου τοῦ Ἀρχίου κολλυβιστικῆς τρα-  
πέζης καὶ τὰς τῆς α]υτῶν Δημητρίου καὶ Ἰσιδώρου τραπέζης  
διαγραφὰς καὶ κατὰ] τὴν νυνεὶ γεγονυῖαν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ [Χ]αιρήμονος  
διὰ τῆς προγεγρα]μμένης Ναρκίσσου κολλυβιστικῆς τραπέζης  
τετελειωμένην] διαγραφὴν ἃ ἐδάνεισαν αὐτῶι [Χ]αιρήμονι  
15 κατὰ συχώρησιν] διὰ τοῦ καταλογίου τῷ Φαρμοῦθι τοῦ ὀγ-  
δούτου ἔτους Τιβερίου Κλαυδίου Καίσαρος Σεβαστοῦ Γερμανικοῦ  
Αὐτοκράτορος ἀργ]υρίου τάλαντα δέκα τρία καὶ τοὺς τόκους,  
εἶναι ἄκρον τῆν] τοῦ δανείου συχώρησιν σὺν τῇ πρὸς αὐτὴν  
γεγονυῖα διὰ τῆς] προκειμένης Ναρκίσσου κολλυβιστικῆς  
20 τραπέζης διαγρα]φῆι καὶ μὴ ἐπιπορεύεσθαι τὸν Δημήτριον  
μηδὲ τὸν Ἰσίδωρον μ]ηδ' ἄλλον μηδένα ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν ἐπὶ τὸν Χαι-*

ρήμονα περί τοῦ π]ροκειμένου δανείου καὶ τῶν τόκων μη-  
δὲ περί ἄλλου μηδεν]ός ἀπλῶς [ἐν]γράφτου ἢ ἀγράφου ἀπὸ  
τῶν ἔμπροσθεν χρόνων μέχρι τ]ῆς ἐνεστ[ώ]σης ἡμέρας

' To . . . *archidicastes* and superintendent of the *chrematistae* and the other courts, from Tiberius Claudius Demetrius and Tiberius Claudius Isidorus, sons of Bion, of the tribe Quirina . . . Demetrius and Isidorus both sons of Bion . . . Demetrius priest and gymnasiarch and one of those exempt from taxes and maintained in the temple of the Muses and from Chaeremon, son of Ale. . . . We agree between ourselves as follows, whereas Demetrius and Isidorus have received from Chaeremon—through Chaeremon himself and through others, by the former drafts on the exchange-bank of Narcissus, son of Archias, and by the drafts on the exchange-bank of Demetrius and Isidorus themselves and by the present draft made by Chaeremon and executed through the aforesaid exchange-bank of Narcissus—the thirteen talents which they lent to Chaeremon himself by a *synchoresis* through the *archidicastes'* office in Pharmouthi of the eighth year of Tiberius Claudius Caesar Augustus Germanicus Imperator, together with the interests, that the loan *synchoresis* be null and void as well as the draft on the above exchange-bank of Narcissus which related to it and that neither Demetrius nor Isidorus nor any other on their behalf proceed against Chaeremon regarding the aforesaid loan and the interests or any other transaction whatsoever, written or unwritten, from times past until the present day . . .'

- 1 Before ἀρχιδικαστῆ there is room for a short word of *c.* five letters. This could be *ἱερεῖ*, often part of the *archidicastes'* title (cf., e.g., 281, 727, 1471), or a name. I have seen no case of *ἱερεῖς* without the name and at least two of the name without *ἱερεῖς*; v. BGU 1108, 1111. There was a holder of the office called Θέων in A.D. 58 (268). This is the only suitable name among the known *archidicastes* of the time, but there are many gaps in the list, v. Anna Calabi, 'L' ἀρχιδικαστῆς nei primi tre secoli della dominazione romana', in *Aegyptus*, 1952, pp. 406 ff.
- 3 Τιβερίων Κλαυδί]ων: in Egypt the citizenship was not conferred generally on classes or districts, cf. Kubitschek, *Imperium Romanum tributim descriptum*, p. 261. The brothers' father was not a Roman citizen or his praenomen would take the place of Βίανος in l. 3. Their citizenship must therefore have been the gift of the emperor, whose names they would take. Claudius was the first emperor to enrol his newly favoured citizens into Quirina, cf. Kubitschek, *De Romanarum tributum origine ac propagatione*, p. 200. Nero also enrolled into Quirina and he may be the emperor in question since a loan of thirteen talents may have taken over five years to repay. The Roman names would be the same in either case.
- The brothers must also have been Alexandrian citizens, for we know from Pliny's correspondence with Trajan (*Letters* 6, 7, 10), that the emperor who intended to honour an Egyptian with Roman citizenship first gave him the Alexandrian.
- 4-5. No supplements are certain. It appears that the surviving part of l. 4 is a genitive absolute describing Demetrius and Isidorus and that l. 5 and l. 6 as far as ἀτελών is a genitive absolute describing Demetrius still more fully. L. 4 might be supplemented Ἀλεξανδρέων—the brothers certainly were Alexandrian citizens, v. n. to l. 3—or Ὀξυρρυχίτων, for the document was found at Oxyrhynchus and might have some closer connection with it. L. 5 might begin, then, ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς πόλεως, but that seems rather long and the gap might be better filled by an office occupied by Bion, e.g. ἐξηγητεύσαστος, κομισητεύσαστος, etc.

- 5 *ἱερεῖς*: it is not clear what this office was. It might possibly be the priest of the Museum at Alexandria since Demetrius was one of its learned members (cf. Strabo xvii. 794). Otto (*Priester und Tempel*, vol. i, p. 197, vol. ii, pp. 321, 326) thought that this office was always held by the *archidicastes* himself, but Anna Calabi (l.c.) disputes it.
- γυμνασιάρχος: possibly gymnasiarch of Alexandria, but he may perhaps more easily be imagined gymnasiarch of a metropolis, for example, of Oxyrhynchus.
- τῶν ἐν τῷ Μουσεῖῳ: for a list of them cf. A. Calderini, *Diz. geografico*, pp. 128-9.
- 6 τοῦ Ἀλε[: the article indicates that Ἀλε[ was part of the name of Chaeremon's father, cf. l. 10 τοῦ Ἀρχίου. There was very probably a space between the end of that name and the beginning of the document proper with συ]νχωροῦμεν.
- 10 Ναρκίσσου: Narcissus' bank, like that of Demetrius and Isidorus (l. 11), is unknown to Calderini ('Censimento topografico delle banche dell' Egitto greco-romano' in *Aegyptus*, 1938, pp. 244 ff.).
- 11-12. τὰς . . . διαγραφὰς: or, of course, τὴν . . . διαγραφὴν.
- 15 Φαρμούθι κτλ.: the *terminus post quem* for the document, March/April A.D. 49. It may have taken some time to pay back so large a loan (thirteen talents) in instalments.

## 2472. REPORT FROM ἐπιτηρηταί

c. 17 × 22 cms.

A.D. 119.

This document is written across the fibres of the papyrus in a small round hand that uses few ligatures. In the narrow upper margin there is a letter π (=kollema 80) surmounted by a wavy line. On the back, the recto side of the papyrus, is a roughly scrawled address to a pilot.

The report is submitted to Sarapion, *strategus* of the Lycopolite nome in A.D. 119. Since it was found at Oxyrhynchus Sarapion may be an Oxyrhynchite, who brought his archives home after the expiry of his office in Lycopolis (cf. E. G. Turner, *JEA* xxxviii, pp. 89 ff., xl, p. 103).

The text is an account for a five-day period of the proceed of a tax (τέλος ἐρμηνίας), presented by ἐπιτηρηταί of the fourth year of Hadrian in conjunction with τελώναι of the third. The contributions came in from several villages, where receipts were apparently collected into storehouses under ταμίαι, who were or might be τελώναι.

The association of τελώναι of the third year of Hadrian with ἐπιτηρηταί of the fourth needs some explanation. In other provinces at this time tax-farmers were often failing to make a profit on their contracts. Where, as a result, there were no bids for the new contract, the old tax-farmers were compelled to undertake the burden again, until Hadrian put an end to the practice, v. Dig. 49. 14. 3. 6 'ualde inhumanus mos est iste, quo retineantur conductores uectigalium publicorum et agrorum, si tantidem locari non possint. nam et facilius inuenientur conductores si scirent fore ut, si, peracto lustro, non uoluerint, non teneantur.' Though 'peracto lustro' shows that this particular



rescript did not refer to Egypt it is attractive to suppose that we have here an instance of the same practice. But one would naturally expect the *τελώναι* to be redesignated according to the year for which they were to collect even if they happened to be the same persons. Another possibility is that the *τελώναι* were still collecting taxes due from the previous year.

The record of payments is followed by an oath on the genius of the emperor that the *ἐπιτηρηταί* have presented a true account and the whole is signed by Horoleon, who seems to have written the report, by his fellow *ἐπιτηρηταί* and by Apollonius, son of Collouthus, who appears in the report as a *ταμίης* and was probably one of the *τελώναι*.

π'

Σαραπίωνι στρατηγῶι Λυκοπολίτου καὶ Ὑψηλῆς  
 παρὰ Ὠρολέωντος Εὐδαίμονος πρεσβυτέρου καὶ Ἀρμιύσιος Πα[το]μτοῦ[τος  
 καὶ Πανεσν[έως] Φμοῦίτος ἐπιτηρητῶν τέλους ἔρμηγίας  
 τοῦ ἐνεστῶτος δ' (ἔτους) Τραιανοῦ Ἀδριανοῦ Καίσαρος τοῦ κ[υ]ρίου  
 5 ἐπακολλ[λ]ουθούτων τῶν τελωνῶν τοῦ γ' (ἔτους) Τραϊαν[οῦ]  
 Ἀδριανοῦ Καίσαρος τοῦ κυρίου. [λό]γος πενθημέρου τῶν [περι-  
 γενομένων ἀ]πὸ Θῶθ 15' ἕως κ' τοῦ αὐτοῦ Θῶθ. 15' οὐδ' ἐν  
 περιεγένετο. 15' Ψῶϊς Πανεμγέος ἀπὸ κόμης Σκιεπ[έ]ως  
 φακ(οῦ) (ἀρτάβας) οε'; ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς κόμης κατὰ μέρος ἐκ λεπτῶν  
 10 5θ; Ἀκανθ(ῶν) Ἀπολλωνίου ναυτικὸς ἀπὸ Λύκ(ων) πόλ(εως) ἐνεβά[λ]ετ[ο]  
 ἀπὸ ταμίου . . . ὡρος ἐν κόμῃ Πῶει (πυροῦ ἀρτάβας) χ' κα[ι] παρὰ  
 Ἀπολλωνίου Ἡρακλήου τοῦ Διδυμάρχου ἐν [κ]ώμη[ι]  
 Μουχενπαμοῦνις (πυροῦ ἀρτάβας) σ'. (γίνονται) (πυροῦ ἀρτάβαι) ω' . . . 1η'  
 Ὠρίων Ἀπολλω[  
 ἀπὸ Λύκ(ων) πόλ(εως) ναυτικ(ός) ἐνεβάλετο ἀπὸ ταμίου Ἀπολλωνίου Κολλούθου  
 [έ]ν κώμη  
 15 Τάσρει (πυροῦ ἀρτάβας) ν' . . . 1θ', κ' οὐδὲν περιεγ[έ]νετο. (γίνονται)  
 ἐπὶ τὸ ἀψ[θ] . . .  
 (πυροῦ ἀρτάβαι) ων' καὶ φακ(οῦ) (ἀρτάβαι) οε' (γίνονται) τρ[ο] . . . ων [ἀ]ργυρίου  
 καθ(αροῦ) . ρι . [ . . . ] . . .  
 ὀμνῶμεν τὴν Αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος Τραιανοῦ Ἀδριανοῦ  
 Σεβαστοῦ τύχην ἐξ ὑγιούς καὶ ἐπ' ἀληθείας ἐπιδεδωκέναι τὸν  
 προκείμενον λόγ[ο]ν. (ἔτους) δ' Αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος Τραιανοῦ Ἀδριανοῦ  
 20 Σεβαστοῦ Θῶθ κ'. Ὠρολέων Εὐδαί[μ]ονος ἐπιδέδωκα.

(Second hand) Πανεσνεὺς Φμοῦί[το]ς ἐπιτέδωκ[α]. (Third hand) Ἀ[ρμι]ύσιος  
 Πατομτοῦ[το]ς ἐπι-  
 δέδωκα. (Fourth hand) Ἀπολλώνιος Κολλούθου [ἐπηκολούθηκα ?].

Verso: ε . . εδολη . . | πρὸς Τ . . . [ . . ] κυβερνήτην φίλον

17. 1. ὀμνῶμεν.

21. 1. ἐπιδέδωκα.

'To Sarapion, *strategus* of the Lycopolite nome and of Hypsele, from Horoleon, son of Eudaemon the elder, and Harmiysis, son of Patomtous, and Panesneus, son of Phmouis, inspectors of the tax on brokerage (?) for the present fourth year of Trajan Hadrian Caesar, the lord, under the surveillance of the tax-farmers of the third year of Trajan Hadrian Caesar, the lord, an account of receipts for the five days from Thoth 16th to the 20th of the same month of Thoth. 16th, nothing was received. 17th, Psois, son of Panemgeus, from the village of Skinepoeus: seventy-five artabae of lentils; from the same village from individual small payments 99 . . . (?) Acanthon, son of Apollonius, a sailor from Lycopolis, took on board from the steward . . . on (?), in the village of Pois, six hundred artabae of wheat and from the steward Apollonius, son of Heracleus and grandson of Didymarchus, in the village of Mouchenpamounis, two hundred artabae of wheat. Total: eight hundred artabae of wheat. . . . (?) 18th, Horion, son of Apollo . . . (?), a sailor from Lycopolis, took on board from the steward Apollonius, son of Collouthus, in the village of Tasris, fifty artabae of wheat. . . . (?) 19th, 20th, nothing was received. Total in all . . . (?) eight hundred and fifty artabae of wheat and seventy-five artabae of lentils. . . . (?) of pure silver . . . (?)

'We swear by the genius of the emperor Caesar Trajan Hadrian Augustus that we have soundly and truthfully presented the foregoing account. In the fourth year of the emperor Caesar Trajan Hadrian Augustus. Thoth 20th.

'I, Horoleon, son of Eudaemon, have presented the account.

'I, Panesneus, son of Phmouis, have presented the account.

'I, Harmiysis, son of Patomtous, have presented the account.

'I, Apollonius, son of Collouthus, have checked the account.'

1 Σαραπίωνι: not known at the publication of Henne's *Liste des stratèges*, but *v. P. Brem.* 11. i. 8, date unknown but during or shortly after the Jewish disturbances.

Λυκοπολίτου καὶ Ὑψηλῆς: this is a unique form of the title. Hypsele was a nome capital under the Pharaohs and appears in the hieroglyphic lists (H. Gauthier, *Les Nomes d'Égypte depuis Hérodote jusqu'à la conquête arabe*, p. 164). It was absorbed by the Lycopolite nome in early Roman times (BGU iv. 1130. 8, 1170. iv. 54) and remains so in A.D. 117 (P. Giss. 82). Here its mention with Lycopolis in the official title of the *strategus* perhaps foreshadows its return to the status of nome capital, completed in A.D. 128 when Hadrian's coins were stamped ΥΨΗΛΗ, i.e. Ὑψηλῆς (Head, *Historia Numorum*<sup>2</sup>, p. 864).

2 Ὠρολέων: not in Preisigke's *Namenbuch*.

πρεσβυτέρου: cf. P. Ryl. 82. 6, 20.

3 ἔρμηγίας: hitherto the *ἐπιτηρητῆς ἔρμηγίας* was known only from P. Fay. 23. i. 12, where he stands in a list of liturgical officials. His connection with the salt trade is illusory since ἀλοπωλ( ) should be extended Ἀλοπωλ(ῶν), the name of an ἀμφοδον in Arsinoe (cf. F. Oertel, *Die Liturgie*, p. 112 and BGU. 9. i. 14, iv. 17 ἐν τοῖς Ἀλωπωλίσι).

The exact meaning of *έρμηρία* is difficult to discover. It occurs in the papyri in the usual sense of interpreting, but Preisigke (*WB*. s.v. *έρμηρεύς*) gives a series of references to passages where it can have no such meaning. 1517 6 has a *έρμηρευς* ελέου (i.e. ελαίου), BGU. 227. 13, 985. 10 have payments of grain made *έξαχωνίκω μέτρω έρμηρεύς τής κόμης* or *τής Καρανίδος*. This papyrus may be added to them, for the idea that interpreters should be paid or taxed in large quantities of grain has little to recommend it. Probably the *έρμηρεύς* in 1650, an account of the transport of grain down the Nile, are of this kind that has a connection with grain and, from our papyrus, with the river traffic. Here, from the preponderance of payments in kind, the *τέλος έρμηρίας* appears to have been a tax on the grain trade. Possibly the *έρμηρεύς* was a middleman of some sort, as the word seems to imply.

- 5 Τραϊαν[οῦ]: the τ is altered from α; presumably the scribe was going to write 'Αδριανού.
- 6 λόγος πενθημέρου: from *έπιτηρητάι* to a *strategus*; cf. P. Fouad 17, P. Oslo 89, 90, 91, PSI 735, P. Strassb. Inv. 11808 (= Wilcken, *Archiv* iv, pp. 142 ff.), Sigurd Möller, *Griechische Papyri aus dem Berliner Museum*, No. 5. To other officials, BGU 478, 479, 480, PSI 160, 2116.
- The date of this document makes more doubtful the inference that penthemeral reports in the Arsinoite nome were established during the reform of its administration in the last years of Hadrian (*v. introd.* to P. Fouad 17). The *αϊτούμενος λόγον δηλώ* of P. Hamb. 6 probably indicates that the *έπιτηρητής* was slack rather than that the reports were not customary.
- 8 Σκωπε[ύσεως]: restored from P. Cair. Masp. 67099. 7. Maspero thought it might be in Antaeopolites.
- έκ λεπτά[ν]: small payments which are not individually catalogued?
- 10 The sign before θ is perhaps ς, i.e. 90, with another symbol lost at the end of l. 9. It might be the sign for drachme seen in, e.g., BGU 392, but *v. n.* to l. 13. ακανθ( ): though the abbreviation is unusual I prefer to take it as a proper name, i.e. Acanthon. Otherwise it will be necessary to alter 'Απολλωνίου to the nominative.
- 11 .. ωρος: a proper name; cf. l. 14. ταμίον: these ταμίαι appear to be officials in charge of a village storehouse but I have been unable to find satisfactory parallels elsewhere. Very possibly ταμίον = ταμείον = ταμείον.
- 13 Μουχενπαμούνης: not otherwise known. It might be possible to divide before Παμούνης and read it as a person's name but the order of words would be unusual. For the form cf. Μουχενώθρα. . . .: the most suitable interpretation of these traces would make them money payments (*v. n.* to l. 15), but I cannot explain them properly. The first trace is probably the common sign for drachme, ς. The second might be the ς sign for half but it lies flat on its back and has a descender from the right. The third is a horizontal stroke with a trace of ink below its left tip. If this dot is ignored it could be the sign for one obol. The whole could therefore be read, doubtfully, as (δραχμαί) ½ (1 obol), i.e. ½ a drachme + 1 obol.
- 15 Τάσσει: *v. P.* Lond. v, 1862, p. 271. ν': money payments? The second trace might be ς. It does not belong to the wheat entry before it, as the total in l. 16 shows. χ' (600, l. 11) + σ' (200, l. 13) = ω' (800, l. 13) + ν' (50, l. 15) = ων' (850, l. 16).
- 19 προκείμε(ων): the reading is doubtful but the second and third traces suit ρ and ο very well. The trace read as μ is above the line like the κ and λ of *Αύκ(ων) πόλ(εως)* in ll. 10 and 14. This suggests an abbreviation.
- 20 The signature of Horoleon seems to be in the same hand as the rest of the document. The others are in rougher individual hands.

22 'Απολλώνιος Κολλούθου: cf. l. 14, where he is called ταμίαι. Since he is not one of the *έπιτηρητάι* of the prescript I suppose he is one of the *έπακολουθούντες τελώναι*. If so, he signs [*έπηκολούθηκα*], cf. Wilcken, *Gr. Ostraka* ii, No. 857.

Verso: I cannot believe that such a scrawl stood on the document before it reached the *strategus*. I guess, therefore, that the *strategus* had it sent to a pilot who was to check the cargoes of Horion and Acanthon, the sailors who were bringing the payments by river. After which it was returned to the *strategus*' office to be filed.

## 2473. PETITION TO A STRATEGUS

c. 12 × 34 cms.

11th Sept. A.D. 229.

This well-preserved and expertly written document is a petition to the *strategus* of Oxyrhynchus, requesting him to instruct the keepers of the local property registers (*βιβλιοφύλακες έγκτήσεων*) to make an entry in their books recording a sale of land that had taken place nearly a year ago. Aurelius Ptollion and Aurelius Apion bought from Aurelius Theon by *synchoresis* some cleruchic land near the village of Antipera Pela in the Oxyrhynchite nome. For some reason, now uncertain, the keepers refused or failed to make the appropriate entry in their books, though they had been informed of the sale (l. 27 *τόν άναπεμφθέντα κτλ.*). The omission would affect the tax assessment of both parties and cast doubt upon the ownership of the land. Therefore Ptollion and Apion submitted this petition to the *strategus*, along with a copy of the declaration which they had made to the keepers.

It is possible that in this case the keepers had, for some reason, not received confirmation of the *synchoresis* from the *archidicastes*' staff in Alexandria (cf. P. R. Univ. Milan No. 26), and could not therefore recognize the sale though they knew of it from the independent declaration of the parties. Another, or contingent, possibility is suggested by the damaged inscription on the verso. This is nearly illegible but part of it may read *παραπράσεως Θέωνος. παράπρασις* has not, so far as I am aware, occurred before in the papyri but the evidence of inscriptions (*v. LSJ* and, more fully, van Herwerden, *Lex. Graec. Supplementarium*, vol. ii) shows clearly that it means a travesty of a sale, usually a sale below cost price. If the *strategus* or the keepers called the sale a *πάρπρασις* they may have suspected that it was in some way illegal.

Αύρηλιω Λεωνίδη στρατηγῷ 'Οξ(υρνηχίτου)  
 παρά Αύρηλ[ί]ων Πτολλίωνος 'Αμόitos τοῦ  
 Σαραπίωνος, μητρό[ς] Διδύμης, καί 'Απίων[ς]

τοῦ καὶ Ἀμμωνίου Ἀπίωνος ἐπικαλουμένου  
 5 Πανσειρήνων[ος], μητρὸς Οὐαριάνης, ἀμφοτέ-  
 ρων ἀπ' Ὁξ[υρύν]υχων πόλεως, κοσμητῶν,  
 βουλευτῶν τῆς αὐτῆς πόλεως. κατὰ συν-  
 χώρησιν τελειωθείσαν διὰ τοῦ [κατ]αλο-  
 γείου τῷ δ[ι]ελθόντι ἡ' (ἔτει) μηνὶ Ἀθὺρ ἕω-  
 10 νήμεθα ἐξ ἴσου παρὰ Αὐρηλί[ου] Θέωνος  
 γυμνασιάρχου βουλευτοῦ τῆς αὐτῆς  
 πόλεως υἱοῦ Ἀριστίωνος Τείρωνος ἐξηγη-  
 τεύσαντος τῆς αὐτῆς πόλεως, μητρὸς  
 Σαραποῦτος τῆς καὶ Δημητρίας ἀπὸ  
 15 τῆς αὐτῆς πόλεως τὰς ὑπαρξάσας αὐτῷ  
 περὶ Ἀντιπέρα Πέλα, ἐκ μὲν τοῦ Ῥόδω-  
 νος καὶ Ἀγασικράτους κλήρου σειτικὰς  
 μοναρχίας μὲν ἀρούρας ἕνδεκα ἡμι-  
 συ ὄγδοον, διαρτάβου δὲ ἀρούρας  
 20 δύο ἡμῖσι τέταρτον ὄγδοον δυοτριακο-  
 στὸν, τῶν δὲ ὄλων ἀρουρῶν δεκατεσ-  
 σάρων ἡμίσιους δυοτριακοστοῦ οὐσῶν  
 ὑπὸ μίαν ὄψιν, ἀποδόντες αὐτῷ τὴν  
 τούτων τιμὴν ἐκ πλήρους ἐπὶ τοῖς  
 25 διὰ τῆ[ς] πράξεως δηλουμένοις δικαίαις  
 καὶ διαστολαῖς πάσαις ὡς ἡ συνχώρησις  
 περ[ι]έχει ἡς τὸν ἀναπεμφθέντα πρὸς  
 τοὺς τῶν ἐνκτίσεων βιβλιοφύλακας χρη-  
 ματισμὸν ὑποκολλήσαντες / τοῖσδε τοῖς βιβλι-  
 30 δίοις ἐπιδίδομεν ἀξιούντες σε ἐπιστεῖλαι  
 τοῖς αὐτοῖς βιβλιοφύλαξι τῶν ἐνκτίσεων  
 τὴν δέουσαν παράθεσιν ποιήσασθαι. (ἔτους) θ'  
 Αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος Μάρκου Αὐρηλίου Σευήρου  
 Ἀλεξάνδρου Εὐσεβοῦς Εὐτυχοῦς Σεβαστοῦ  
 35 Θῶθ ἰδ' (Second hand) Αὐρηλίοι Πολλίαν καὶ Ἀπίων  
 ὁ καὶ Ἀμμώνιος ἀμφοτέρ(οι) κοσμητ(αί) διὰ  
 Ἀπίωνος τοῦ κ(αὶ) Ἀμμωνίου ἐπιδ[ε]δώκαμεν.

'To Aurelius Leonides, *strategus* of the Oxyrhynchite nome, from Aurelius Ptolion, son of Amois and Didyme, grandson of Sarapion, and from Aurelius Apion called Ammonius, son of Apion surnamed Pausirion and of Variana, both of the city of Oxyrhynchus, *cosmetae*, senators of the same city. By a *synchoresis* executed through the *archidicastes*' office in the past eighth year in the month of Hathyr, we bought jointly from Aurelius Theon, gymnasiarch and senator of the same city, son of Aristion son of Teiron, former *exegetes* of the same city, and of Sarapous called Demetria of the same city, grain land that belonged to him near Antipera Pela, from the estate of Rhodon and Agasicrates, 11 $\frac{5}{8}$  arourae assessed at one artaba, 2 $\frac{3}{8}$  arourae assessed at two artabae, the whole 14 $\frac{1}{2}$  arourae being surveyed in one piece, paying over to him their full price in accordance with all the rights and conditions expressed in the sale as comprehended by the *synchoresis*. We present this petition having attached to it a copy of the *synchoresis* that was sent to the keepers of the property registers, requesting you to instruct the same keepers of the registers to make the appropriate entry. 'In the ninth year of the emperor Caesar Marcus Aurelius Severus Alexander Pius Felix Augustus, Thoth 14th, 'Aurelius Ptolion and Aurelius Apion called Ammonius, both *cosmetae*, have presented (this petition) through Apion called Ammonius.'

- 1 Αὐρηλίῳ Λεωνίδῃ : v. P. Mertens, 'Un Demi-siècle de stratégie oxyrhynchite', in *Chronique d'Égypte* 62 (1956), pp. 352 ff. and p. 355; Henne, *Liste des stratèges*, p. 32 and suppl. p. \*20. The earliest certain date for Leonides was May, A.D. 235 (PSI 733). Our papyrus reveals him in office 11th Sept. A.D. 229 and thus considerably shortens Mertens's 'trou d'une bonne dizaine d'années' between him and his last known predecessor.
- 2 Αὐρηλίου Πολλίων etc.: the buyers' names appear together in 2348 (37-8) along with an Aurelius Theon (43). This document is dated A.D. 224.
- 10 An Aurelius Theon who may have been of the same family appears in 964 (A.D. 263) Αὐρ. Θ. ὁ καὶ Εὐδαίμων ἐπικαλούμενος Ἀριστίων καὶ ἡ ἀδελφὴ Σαραποῦς ἡ καὶ Ἀγαθόκλεια, ἀμφότεροι Ἀριστίωνος.
- 16 Ἀντιπέρα Πέλα : a village of the λιβὸς τοπαρχία of Oxyrhynchus, v. 1659 42, 1637 33 and n. This confirms the reading of 1659.
- 16-17. Ῥόδωνος καὶ Ἀγασικράτους : possibly the names of the Ptolemaic soldiers to whom the land was first granted. Agasicrates is not in Preisigke, *Namenbuch* nor in Pape, *Die griechischen Eigennamen*.
- 23 ὑπὸ μίαν ὄψιν : cf. 1475 22.
- 23-4. τὴν τούτων τιμὴν : since the price is not mentioned we cannot judge whether it was low enough to justify the description of the sale as a *παράπρασις*.
- 29 ὑποκολλήσαντες : the scribe changed the -ς of ὑποκολλήσας to -ν and wrote above it -τες. This is the only correction and the only error in the text.
- 35 A long line under Θῶθ ἰδ' marks the end of the scribe's work. The rest is in a different and rougher hand.

## 2474. WILL OF A ROMAN CITIZEN

c. 24 × 39 cm.

Third century.

This is the draft of the will of a wealthy Roman citizen, enfranchised A.D. 212, made probably after Alexander Severus had granted the use of the Greek language between 224 and 235 (M. Amelotti, *SDAJ* 15 (1949), p. 57). The hand-

writing is a large irregular and cursive business hand of the middle or late third century, inclined slightly to the right. The will is written along the fibres on the verso of a piece cut from a roll. The recto contains parts of three columns from an unpublished land-register of the first part of the third century mentioning areas of land by owner, κλήρος and numbered κοίτη.

In the lost part<sup>1</sup> stood the declaration of the testator's sons (at least three, l. 27) as heirs; and the surviving column begins with legacies presumably for his daughter (cf. l. 21), then for his wife (ll. 5-13) and for his mother (ll. 13-15), followed by yearly allowances for his wife (ll. 15-20). Then he appoints a *curator minorum* for his sons (ll. 20-5), provides for a substitute in case of the death of one of the heirs, in accordance with Roman law, but in Greek terms (ll. 25-8), frees two house-slaves and orders a juridically interesting release from *παρμονή* becoming effective after the death of his wife (ll. 28-31), provides for the maintenance of his sister, and grants her an additional allowance of wine (ll. 31-6). He bequeathes land to his bailiff (ἐπίτροπος) Epimachus on condition that he remains with the testator's sons, and fixes a salary and payment for his maintenance (ll. 36-42). Finally he seems to enjoin all persons connected with this will to observe his instructions (ll. 44-5). It is of interest to see how the Greek testamentary style meets the requirements of Roman Law.

The lacuna in l. 6 [ ] θεῶ καὶ ἀνθρώποις warns one against speculations which might be prompted by comparison with SB 6266. 12 f. ἐν πᾶσι καλοῖς ἔργοις τοῖς ἀρέσκοισι τῷ θεῷ καὶ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις. Nevertheless it may be useful to point out the possibility that the testator's wife was a Christian. It is true, the singular ὁ θεός was used commonly also among pagans, but in the present papyrus θεῶ is complementally opposed to ἀνθρώποις. The Christian interpretation receives some further support from the fact that the testator's sister's name was Theognoste. The name Theognostus was used especially (though not exclusively, cf. OGI 699) among Christians. After the Jewish breakdown of A.D. 117 it seems improbable to assume a rich and esteemed Jewish family (v. Tcherikover, *C.P. Iud.* p. 94, cf. note to l. 39). But though a Christian formula in a document intended for submission to authority has no parallel in pre-Byzantine times and though this is possibly the earliest evidence of Christianity in documentary papyri, this interpretation need not be regarded as incredible, nor, if accepted, require a later date. For except during prosecution the Christians had no reason for concealing their faith, and as Scriptural texts found in Oxyrhynchus show, Christianity was well established there by the beginning of the third century.

<sup>1</sup> Two small scraps probably belonging to this lost first column are not transcribed.

- χρυσῶν [ο]νγκίας ἕξ καὶ ἀσήμου λίτρας δέκα [ (± 22 letters) ἀ ὑπάρχει μοι ἐν] ὀνικοῖ[s] κτήνεσι καὶ πρόβασι καὶ ..... [ (± 32 letters) καὶ] ἑσθῆς [πᾶσα] ἑρεᾶ τε καὶ λινῆ καὶ ἐνδομε[νία] (± 22 letters) ἔχειν αὐτ... ]
- 4 θέλω ἕξ ἴσου μέρους τοὺς τέσσαράς μου [ (± 37 letters) ]  
 Αὐρηλίαν δὲ Χαιρημονίδα εὐνου[σ]τάτην μου [σύμβιον] (± 29 letters) ]  
 θεῶ καὶ ἀνθρώποι[s], ε[ὐ]νοήσασάν μοι ἐν [πρώτοις καὶ πᾶσαν πίστιν μοι ἐνδεικνυ-  
 μένην (?) ]  
 [τῆν] αὐτὴν θέλω κυριευτικῶ[s]... [ (± 34 letters) ]  
 [ ]ου τὸ λοιπὸν ἦμισυ μέρος τῆς προκειμένη[s] οἰκίας (± 23 letters) καὶ τῆς] μικρᾶς οἰκίας λογιστήριον λεγομένης καὶ τῆς ἕξ[ (± 31 letters) ]
- 10 καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν τέταρτον μέρος τῆς γῆς τοῦ Θωμῆ[σ] σ. [ (± 28 letters) ]  
 μέρος τῆς τε ἐπάνω χορτοθήκης καὶ σ[τοβολῶνος] (?) καὶ τῆς (± 15 letters)  
 τῆς κει-]  
 μένης πρὸς τῇ ὄχθῃ τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἀποκ. [ καὶ τῶν (± 32 letters) ]  
 ἐν οἷς ἐστὶ κτήνη βοῦκα Πανσε[ί]ρ[εως] (± 32 letters) ἢ δὲ ἡμε-]  
 τέρα μήτηρ Ἀσκατάριον ἐν ῥύμη Ψύλλου λεγομένη [ (± 30 letters) ]
- 15 καὶ κοινωνοσ[α] κατὰ τὰ λοιπὰ μέρη [ (± 26 letters) τῇ δὲ Χαιρημονίδι]  
 τῇ προκειμένη εὐνουστάτη μου συμ[βίω] δοθῆναι θέλω κατ' ἔτος ἐπὶ τὸν τῆς ζωῆς  
 αὐτῆς χρό-]  
 νον σίτου ἀρτάβας ἑκατὸν καὶ οἴνου [κεράμι]α ἑκατὸν καὶ ..[...]. ἀρτάβας  
 εἰκοσι πέντε [κ]αὶ  
 λαχανοσπέρμου ἀρτάβας ἕξ. καὶ ὅσα ἐώνημαι καὶ συνεταξάμην ἐπ' ὀνόματος τῆς  
 αὐτῆς συμβίω[v]  
 μου Χαιρημονίδος δοῦναι σῶματα .... ε. γ. τε καὶ Πανχάριον καὶ τὰ ταύτης  
 τέκνα
- 20 Κοπρῆν καὶ Π. .... καὶ Θυᾶν, ἔχειν α[ὐτῆ]ν θέλω κυριευτικῶς. κηδεμόνα δὲ  
 καίστη-  
 μι τοῖ[s] αὐτοῖς ἀφήλιξι μου υἱοῖς τὸν ἡμέτερον γαμβρὸν Αὐρηλίον Ἀχιλλίωνα  
 Κορνη-  
 λιανοῦ πρυτανεύσαντα τῶν αὐτόθι, πᾶσαν πίστει μέλλοντα ἀποσώζειν τοῖς αὐ-  
 τοῖς  
 παισὶ[v] μου καὶ κληρονόμοις· πρὸς τε ἡλικίας αὐτῶν γενομένων ἀποκατασταθῆναι  
 ἐκάστῳ  
 αὐτῶν τὰ ὑπ' ἐμοῦ διαταγέστα αὐτοῖς σὺν τοῖς ἑσομένοις ἀπὸ τοῦ γυν ἀπὸ τῶν  
 ὑπαρ-

25 χόντων φόροις τε καὶ ἐκφορίοις ὑγρῶν τε καὶ ξηρῶν. εἰ δέ, ὃ μὴ εἴη, ὁπότερος τῶν

αὐτῶν παιδῶν μου ἐξ ἀνθρώπων γένηται ἄτεκνος ἢ καὶ ἀδιάθετος, τὸ μέρος αὐτῆς τῆς κληρονομί[ε]ας τῆς ἐμῆς ἀνατρέχειν εἰς τοὺς λοιποὺς ἀδελφοὺς αὐτοῦ, ἐμοῦ τε υἱοῦ καὶ κληρο-

νόμους ἐξ ἴσου μέρους. ἅμα δὲ τῇ τελευτῇ μου ἐλευθέρους εἶναι θέλω ἡμετέρους οἰκέτας Θέωνα καὶ Τααμμῶνιν· εἶναι δὲ αὐτοὺς βούλομαι ὑπὸ τὴν ἐξουσίαν τῆ[ς]

30 αὐτῆς εὐνουστάτης μου συμβίου Χαιρημονίδος, ἐφ' ὃν περίεστιν χρόνον· πρὸς τῷ τε τελευτᾶν ἀ[ὐτ]ῆ[ν] πορεύεσθαι αὐτοὺς ἀκωλύτως, ὅπουδὰν βουληθῶσι. τῆν

γε ὁμογενεῖαν μου ἀδελφὴν Θεογνώστην παραμεῖναι θέλω τῇ εὐνο[υ]στάτῃ μου συμβίῳ Χαιρημονίδι διαιτωμένῃ καὶ ὑπηρετουμέ[νῃ] . . . . [ . . . ]

καὶ ἔ[χειν αὐ]τ[ῆ]ν παρὰ τῶν προ[κ]ειμένων μου κληρονόμων προ[ο]νοία τοῦ

35 κηδεμόνος οἴνου κεράμια εἰκ[οσ]ι[τ]ῆσσα κατ' ἔτος, οἷς αὐτὴν ἀρκεσθῆν[αι] βούλομαι. Ἐπίμαχον δὲ ἐπίτροπον ἢ μέτερον, ᾧ καὶ αὐτῷ εὐχαριστῶ εὐ γενέσ[θαι]

τὰ διαφέροντά μοι πράγματα, ἀντὶ πόνων ἀμβυβῆς ἔχειν θέλω ἅμα τῇ [τελευτῇ] μου κυριευτικῶς ἄς κέκτημαι περὶ κώμην Σενοκῶμειν . . . . [ . . . . ]

Πέλα ἐκ τοῦ Σισίνου [[κλήρου]] καὶ Ἀβδιέου κλήρων σιτικᾶς ἀρούρα[ς] (± 9-13 letters) α[ς]

40 καὶ αὐτὸν ἀρκεσθῆναι βούλομαι. παραγγέλλω δὲ τῷ αὐτῷ Ἐπιμάχῳ (8-12 letters) ]

παραμεῖναι τοῖς αὐτοῖς υἱοῖς μου τὴν αὐτὴν χώραν διοικοῦντι [καὶ ἔχοντι ἐπὶ]

ὀψωνίῳ καὶ τηρήσει αὐτοῦ προνοία τοῦ αὐτοῦ 'κηδεμόνος' Ἀχιλλίωνος. [ (12-16 letters) ]

τούς τε προνοήσα[*χ*ντα]ς] καὶ τοὺς φροντίσαι[τας] καὶ τοὺς] λοιποὺς πρὸς το. [ (7-10 letters) ]

τηθῆναι τὰ ἐν αὐτοῖς δ[ . . . . . ] . . . . . [ . . . . . ] . . . . . [ . . . . . ]

ροις κλ[ηρονό-]

45 μοις μον μηδενί [έ]ξεί[ναι]

. . . . γο[ ]

20. I. καθίστημι. 22. I. πίστιν. 27. I. υἱοῦς. 36. ἡμέτερον: τ also corrected. εδ: ε corrected out of π. 37. I. ἀμβυβῆς. 38. I. Σενοκῶμιν. 39. I. ἐκ τῶν. 42. I. τηρήσει.

' . . . six ounces of gold and ten pounds of silver. [ . . . Whatever] donkeys and small cattle and [ . . . I own . . . and all my] woollen and linen clothing and [all] my household stock [ . . . ] I wish [them to have . . . ] in equal portions my four . . . Aurelia Chaeremonis,

my wife, who is well disposed to me [ . . . ] God and men, but likes me [first of all and shows all faith to me,] I wish her with full proprietary rights to have . . . and the remaining half portion of the aforementioned [house . . . and] of the small house which is called "counting-house" and of the equ[ipment] (?) . . . ] and the remaining fourth portion of Thonius' land [ . . . and the . . . ] portion of the hay-cock on the hill and of the gra[nary] and of the . . . ] which is situated on the dike of the river [ . . . and of the stables (?),] in which Pausiris' cattle are. . . . My mother Asclatarion in Pysyllus-street . . . and as common property according to the remaining portions . . . I [wish] my aforementioned wife who is well disposed to me [for the term of her life each year to receive] one hundred artabae of corn and one hundred jars of wine and twenty-five artabae of aracus (?) and six artabae of vegetable seed. And with full proprietary rights she shall own all the slaves whom I have bought and put under the name of the said wife Chaeremonis, N. and Pancharion and her children Copra and P . . . and Thnas (?). I appoint my son-in-law Aurelius Achillion, Cornelianus' son, who has been a prytanis here, as curator of the aforesaid sons who are minors, and he shall preserve all good faith to the said children and heirs. When they have come to the proper age, all that I have instructed shall be bestowed on them together with all future rents in money and in dry and liquid measure which shall be produced from now on. If—may it not be so—one of the children dies without issue and intestate, then his portion of the inheritance shall go to his remaining brothers, my sons and heirs, in equal portions. On my death I wish my house-slaves Theon and Taammonis to be freed; but they shall be kept in the power of my said faithful wife Chaeremonis so long as she lives. On her death they shall be allowed to go unhindered wherever they wish. I wish Theognoste, my full sister, to stay with my wife Chaeremonis, to be maintained and supplied . . . and from the aforesaid heirs through the provision of the curator she shall receive twenty-four jars of wine each year; with this I wish her to be satisfied. As reward for his troubles I wish my steward Epimachus, whom I thank for the prosperity of my affairs (?), on my death with all proprietary rights to receive the arourae of cornland, which in the area of the village Senocomis . . . (and the village) Pela I own from Sisines' and Abdieus' plots . . . ; with these he shall be satisfied. I instruct the same Epimachus . . . to stay with my aforesaid sons and to manage the same land with them; through the provision of the *curator minorum* Achillion, mentioned above, he shall receive as salary and payment for his maintenance, . . . the people who provide and take care and the other . . .'

For parallels see particularly the Greek will 494 (Mitteis, *Chr.* 305; Hunt-Edgar, *Sel. Pap.* i. 84; A.D. 156), the Roman 'Musterdokument' (L. Wenger, *Die Quellen des röm. Rechts*, 1953, p. 821) in *Ét. de Pap.* 6, 1940, pp. 1 ff. (*Font. Iur. Rom. Anteiust.* = *FIRA* iii. 47; A.D. 142), the translations from Latin BGU 326 (Mitteis, *Chr.* 316; David-Groningen, *Pap. Primer* 31; *FIRA* iii. 50; A.D. 189), SB 7630 (second half of the second cent.), 2348 (A.D. 224) and the Roman wills made in Greek after the Edict of Alexander Severus: Mitteis, *Chr.* 317 (= *FIRA* iii. 51; A.D. 276) and P. Princ. 38 (about A.D. 260). For further references and literature see R. Taubenschlag, *Law of Gr. Rom. Egypt* . . . , 1955<sup>2</sup>, pp. 190 ff.; L. Wenger, *Quellen*, pp. 820 ff.; CPL under Nos. 221-7.

The testator's mother Asclatarion of l. 14 may perhaps be identified with the Oxyrhynchite Dionysia, also called Asclatarion, who in A.D. 192, together with a Roman citizen, delivered *πρὸς συναγοραστικῶς* to the *sitologus* of Paomis in the toparchy of Thmoisepho (1541); this Asclatarion was probably the mother of Aurelius Heraclides also called Ptollas, son of Diogenes, who in A.D. 236/7 was the *sitologus* designate of the village of Sepho in the same toparchy of Thmoisepho (PSI 1121). If the testator of the present will, whose name is lost, could be identified with this Aurelius Heraclides, his mother's receipt, his sworn declaration to undertake the said office, and the present will might all come from his archive. If the

identification of Asclatarion is accepted, the present will can hardly be dated much later than A.D. 240. But as other instances of the name are found, the identification cannot be regarded as certain. P. Mertens has drawn my attention to the Aurelia Chaeremonis, ἀδελφιδῆ of Aurelius Diogenes, of 1697 12 (A.D. 242), the only instance of the conjunction of these names found at Oxyrhynchus. Aurelius Achillion of ll. 21-2 could be the Achillion of 2477, father of a prytanis in office in A.D. 289, and/or the Achillion of PSI 461. 24 (A.D. 290), father of Asclepiades. But there are other bearers of that name (e.g. 54 5, 6 of A.D. 201; P. Merton 75. 22 of A.D. 181).

- 1-4. The sums and goods mentioned are probably excluded from the inheritance of the testator's sons. They do not necessarily go to the same heirs.
- 2 οὐκοῖ[s] or ἡμιουκοῖ[s]. After και, ζε...εν is just possible (but ζε is written quite differently in l. 22), perhaps ρε; ζεύγεται is rather difficult.
- 4 θέλω (cf. ll. 7, 20, 28, 32, 37) as well as βούλομαι (ll. 29, 36, 40) is a translation of the Latin formula (cf. esp. Scaevola, *Dig.* 40. 4. 60 βούλομαι δοθῆναι) *dari volo* (*FIRA* iii. 47. 37; 53. 3; 54. 17; 55a. 6, b-B 2 f.), (*dis*)tribui volo (*FIRA* iii. 55a. 11; 53. 10), *liberum volo esse* (*FIRA* iii. 47. 35) and in other connections. θέλω very frequently in the translation of the will of Longinus Castor (BGU 326 = *FIRA* iii. 50). But this does not prove that the present document is translated from the Latin (cf. H. Kreller, *Erbr. Unters.* 1919, p. 301).
- 5-6. εὐνου[σ]τάτην: as Aurelius Collouthus called his wife in his will (*FIRA* iii. 52; about A.D. 460); εὐνοήσασάν μοι: as similarly in a Greek will dated A.D. 156 (494). Following N.T. language (1 Thess. ii. 4, iv. 1; 1 Cor. vii. 32; Rom. viii. 8) and SB 6266. 12 one might, with reserve, think of ἐν πᾶσιν καλοῖς ἔργοις ἀρέσκουσαν] θεῶ (with suggestions of H. C. Youtie). In SB 6266 the participle is applied to things, not persons.
- 6 Restored *exempli gratia* following 494.
- 7 ]...[ : ], ρε is possible; only the top of the letters visible.
- 9 Perhaps ἐξ[αρτίας], rather than ἐξ[έδρος].
- 11 σ[τροβολάνος] or σ[τρού]; l. 12: [καὶ τῶν στάβλων]?
- 15 κοινωνοῦσα]: the hole leaves space only for one of the flatter letters.
- 17 f. The yearly allowances are extremely high; see A. C. Johnson's remarks about the living costs at that time (*Rom. Egypt*, pp. 301 f.). He quotes an allowance of 50 artabae of wheat and 55 jars of wine as the highest one. καὶ ἄρα[κ]ον seems just possible; only the feet of letters are visible.
- 20 The most that can be said is that the reading adopted does not conflict with the slight traces remaining.
- 20-5. Appointment under Roman Law of the *curator minorum* (κηδεμών) till the sons reach the age of 25 (see H. Peters, *Zs. d. Savigny-Stift.* 32 (1911), pp. 273 ff.; R. Taubenschlag, *Law*, pp. 178 ff. with ref.). κηδεμών can be used as a general term for both the *tutor* (ἐπίτροπος, till the age of 14) and the *curator* (κηδεμών speaking strictly. Cf. 888 of the third/fourth cent., cf. J. Altmann, SDHI 21 (1955), 8/10 with ref. to *Digest* and Modestinus); so the children of the present will are not necessarily above the age of 14.
- 24 ὑπαρ: the partly rubbed ink of the first letter rather gives the impression of α.
- 25-8. Combining the *substitutio vulgaris* and the *substitutio pupillaris* (Gaius ii. 179 f.), the testator orders what *ipso iure* would follow from the principle of accretion. So far this instruction is in accordance with the Roman law. But by the addition of ἀτεκνος ἢ καὶ ἀδιάθετος often used in Hellenistic wills (cf. H. Kreller, l.c. pp. 356 ff.), the same provision is made in case one of the heirs dies having taken possession and being *maior*. This points to the Greek provenance of the present instruction—an interpretation which receives some support from the fact that the idea of the formula μέρος . . . ἀνατρέχειν εἰς

(or the like) is utterly different from the Roman substitution (cf. P. Hamb. 72; *FIRA* iii. 47; Gaius ii. 174; *Dig.*, e.g., 40. 4. 2, see Kreller, l.c. p. 382, Taubenschlag, *Law*, p. 195). It is true that this formula entered even the version of the Latin will of Longinus Castor.

- 28 Translation of the Latin formula *liberum volo esse* (Kreller, l.c. p. 387, cf. on l. 4).
- 29 f. The testator bequeathes to his wife the παραμονή of the *libertini* for general and undetermined services (W. L. Westerman, *JJP* 2 (1948), pp. 9 ff.), and wishes them to be freed entirely on her death; the instructions given by Sintheus (SB 7816 of A.D. 166/7) and by Acusilaus (494) are less clear, but similar (cf. Kreller, l.c. p. 354). This παραμονή was peregrine practice, which was based only on the ἀστικοὶ νόμοι; see 706 (Mitteis, *Chr.* 81. 7 ff.) [ἐν μὲν τοῖς τῶν Αἰγυπτίων νόμοις οὐδὲν περὶ τῆς [παραμονῆς] (Harada; πατρωνικῆς Meyer) καὶ τ]ῆς (scripsi) ἐξουσίας τῶν ἀπελευθερωσάντων [διώρισται. διὸ δὲ] ἀ[κο]λοῦθως τοῖς ἀστικοῖς νόμοις [κελεύει τὸν Δαμαρ]ίωνα Ἡρακλείδῃ τῷ πατρῶνι [παραμένειν] κ[ατὰ τὸν νόμον. Already in Greek law the ἀπόλοις τῆς παραμονῆς was expressed in terms similar to those of the present will (cf. P. Edm. I. 10 = Mitteis, *Chr.* 361; P. Ness. 56. 12, 15, in another connection P. Lips. 29 = Mitteis, *Chr.* 318. 6): e.g. ἐλευθέρῳ εἶμεν . . . ποιούσα δὲ καὶ θέλη καὶ ἀποτρέχουσα οἷς καὶ θέλη (*Fouilles de Delphes*, iii, e.g. fasc. 3. 4, 6 etc.; 265, 266 etc.; cf. P. Koschaker, *Abh. Leipzig*, phil.-hist. Kl. 42. 1 (1931), p. 25, n. 4, p. 39); and the fact that in the present will (as in the aforesaid SB 7816 of A.D. 166 and in 494 of A.D. 155) the slaves will be freed from slavery immediately after the death of the testator, but from παραμονή not before the death of the heir who received the life-interest, seems both to offend against Roman Law, which before Justinian probably did not know a real *patronatus* over the *libertini* *orcini* (see M. Kaser, *Das röm. Privatrecht*, i, p. 253, n. 15) and to recall the Delphic inscriptions, in which very often the slaves are bought into freedom—in this point the situation is different—though obliged to remain with their former owner till his death (e.g. iii, fasc. 3. 5, 11 ff. etc., 294. 9 ff. etc.). So it can be taken that the liberation from παραμονή—even if the Roman conception “*patronatus*” is used—followed from the Greek law and that the liberation from the πατρωνικά δίκαια joined with the liberation from slavery in the will PSI 1040 (dating from the third cent.) cannot be regarded as clear evidence for the adoption of the Roman law of the *patronatus* (rightly K. Harada, *Zs. d. Savigny-Stift.* 58 (1933), pp. 136 ff. against R. Taubenschlag, *Studi Bonfante* i (1930), p. 406; *Zs. d. Savigny-Stift.* 50 (1930), p. 167; *Law*, pp. 100 f.). Nevertheless all the quoted instructions may be intended to bring the peregrine practice in closer accord with the Roman Law.
- 30-1. πρὸς τῷ τελευταῖν αὐτῆν: the testator wishes to preserve the *libertini* from the Roman regulation that the *libertinus* does not come to his new status before the heir has taken possession.
- 31-6. παραμένειν: here not in the technical sense (see above): the testator expresses his wish that his sister shall continue to live in the household of his wife. But ὑπηρετομένην could be middle: ‘to help his wife’. In this case the sister would be in the power of her brother and under obligation to work, which is not likely.
- 32 γε rather than τε.
- 34 ἄ]: only the top visible; the lacunae give space only for the flatter letters.
- 36-42. Interpretation and supplements depend on the meaning of ἐπίτροπος, which because of ἡμέτερος (l. 36) hardly means ‘guardian’. ἐπίτροπος ‘executor’ may be expected, as in BGU 326. ii. 17 and (‘procurator’) in *FIRA* iii. 47. 18; P. Mich. vii. 437 (in the edition of V. Arangio-Ruiz and A. M. Colombo, *JJP* iv (1950), p. 118); but the formulation does not sound like an appointment, rather like a condition, under which Epimachus shall receive the land bequeathed to him; he shall remain under obligation to work (παραμονή). The phrase τῶν αὐτῆν χώρων διοικούντι (l. 41), alluding to his work as ἐπίτροπος = ‘steward’,

for which he is to be paid the *διδάμιον* and a payment for his maintenance, specifies and in effect limits his duties. *εὐχαριστῶ ἐδ γενέσθαι*: cf. *FIRA* iii. 52. 21 f., for the construction P. Tebt. 12. 24. The testator thanks him for his merits as his bailiff.

- 38 ..... [: only the top visible; at the beginning,  $\nu$  or  $\epsilon$ , then  $\delta\omicron$  or  $\delta\alpha$  most probable; after two or three letters,  $\kappa\psi\mu[\eta\pi]$  is just possible,  $\kappa$  or  $\nu$  or  $\iota\omicron$ . Possibly [*Ἀντίπερα*] Πέλα should be restored at the end, cf. 2473 16.
- 39 'Αβδιέος, which perhaps should be read 'Αβδιαίος, was probably a Jew (יבדי = 'Αβδί, 1 Chron. vi. 29; 2 Chron. xxix. 12; 'Αβδία Es. x. 26). Elsewhere the name occurs in forms like 'Αβδαίος, 'Αβδέος, 'Αβδίας, 'Αβδίους. Instead of  $\epsilon$ ,  $\pi$  seems not impossible, hardly 'Αβδιδου (יבדידו). Σιαίνης is Persian (Justi, *Iran. Namenbuch*, s.v.), but the bearer of this name could be a Jew also (see Tcherikover, *C.P. Iud.* i, p. 173, n. to P. Tebt. 882. 4). For the possibility that the property of the Jews had been confiscated see Tcherikover, l.c. p. 94.
- 42 *αὐτοῦ*: Frowald Hüttenmeister.
- 43 f. Instead of *ησα, ρτα* is possible (*προνο(οσ)υτα[ς]*). Perhaps *μη ἀθε]τηθῆναι τὰ ἐν αὐτοῖς δ[ι]α[κ]ε[ι]μ[ε]ν[α]*. At the end of the line, apparently [*τοῖς προκειμέ]νο[ις]*.
- 45 e.g. *μηδεν[ε] [ε]ξεί[ναι παραβῆναι τι τῶν ὑπ' ἐμοῦ διαταγέντων*, cf. SB 7816. 9; Kreller, *Erbr. Unters.* p. 387. *ξε* is on a loose scrap, the position of which is not entirely certain.

## 2475-7. PRIVILEGES OF ATHLETES AND DIONYSIAC ARTISTS

94 × 23 cms.

A.D. 289.

These three documents, which concern the privileges of athletes and Dionysiac artists, formed part of a *τόμος συγκολλησίμος* in the archives of the Oxyrhynchite senate.

Of 2475 only the ends of lines survive. Since the remaining columns are marked B, Γ, Δ, this must be A, and it was probably the first and outermost column of the roll. It is written in the same hand as BΓ. On this account and because there is no *κόλλημα* between A and B we must presume a connection with 2476.

The remains of line 1 suggest an address to the senate like that in 2477 and the length of that supplement is supported by the completed imperial titles in ll. 15-17. The mention (l. 11) of a *διπλή*, which is the proper description of the first part of 2476, and *ἀξιῶ* (l. 12), suggest that this is Aurelius Hatres' letter, sent to the senate with his credentials, to support his claim to exemption from taxes and liturgies. In purpose, though not in style or length, it may be compared with BGU 1074, ll. 10-13.

2476 is a certificate demonstrating that Aurelius Hatres is a member of the *ἱερὰ μουσική οἰκουμένην περιπολιστικὴ σύνοδος τῶν περὶ τὸν Διόνυσον τεχνιτῶν*. Its object is to secure him exemption from taxes and liturgies, so it includes copies of imperial letters and decrees that confer these privileges on the society. Its contents are best seen in a table.

- 1 (ll. 1-4). Letter of Claudius to the society allowing *εἰκόνας* and confirming privileges granted by Augustus.
- 2 (ll. 4-7). Summary of a decree of Hadrian concerning the privileges of the society.
- 3 (ll. 7-11). Letter of Severus thanking the society for its good wishes on his accession and confirming privileges.
- 4 (ll. 11-12). Letter of Alexander confirming the decisions of Caracalla and Severus affecting the society.
- 5 (ll. 12-17). An open letter from the society to its members certifying the appointment of Aurelius Hatres of Oxyrhynchus as high priest and his payment of the prescribed fees.
- 6 (ll. 17-33). An elaborate ratification of this letter dated by the games at Panopolis and the current officers of the society, witnessed by all these officers and countersigned by the organizer of the Panopolite games.

All these parts of the document are paralleled in BGU 1074, which also contains, between sections 3 and 4, a letter from Septimius Severus and Caracalla, and, between sections 4 and 5, a letter from the claimant there to the senate, which I have compared with 2475.

There follow :—

- 7 (ll. 34-49). A decree of the society and the covering letter addressed with it to the senate of Oxyrhynchus.
8. The date clause, 26th July, A.D. 289.

Though the scribe's hand is practised and very clear his carelessness and ignorance can be seen in several places (*v. nn.* to ll. 13, 24, 31, e.g.). Iotacism and the associated phonetic spelling of  $\epsilon$  for  $\alpha\iota$  are frequent. Mutes are separated by a mark like an apostrophe.

Enough of 2477 is extant to make it clear that it is a letter from Aurelius Ammon, a pancratiast, asking some favour of the senate of Oxyrhynchus. Unfortunately the main verb and other vital words are lost in the damage to the right-hand edge, so that the subject of the petition is not clear. Probably it had to do with the privileges granted to athletes, either exemptions or expenses (cf. C.P. Herm. 54, 55, 56, 69, 70, 72-4, 76, 77, 79, 81, 113). Possibly it was a request for an appointment (cf. PSI xiv. 1422).

Ammon appears to have held for life a high position in a society of athletes, *ἔυστάρχης* or *ἀρχιερεὺς διὰ βίου*. (For an athlete's diploma cf. P. Lond. 1178.) His letter has a literary flavour (*v. nn.* to ll. 7, 8, *θρεψαμένη, προύσταλμένος*), and, unlike Hatres (2475 18), he could sign his name in a firm, if rather inky hand.

The document is dated March/April A.D. 289, a few months earlier than

2475-6. It appears that Hatres' letter and diploma were stuck to the end of a roll already containing 2477. The heading letters were written at this time, or later, and probably indicate that no more was to be added to the roll.

The hand is very like that of Nos. 2475-6 but its greater speed and cursive-ness make it difficult to read in one or two places.

2475

[A]

τῆ κρατίστη βουλῇ τῆς λαμπρᾶς καὶ λαμπροτάτης Ὁξυρυγχιτῶν πόλεως  
 διὰ ὑπομνηματογράφου  
 ] . . . τος τῆς λαμ-  
 5 πρ ] . . . ος κατατα  
 ] στεφανω  
 ] κυρίω(ν)  
 ] εμνο-  
 ] . ψη-  
 10 ] . ριω  
 ] . ι διπλησ  
 ] . αξιῶ ταστη-  
 ] ηθῆναι πρὸς τὸ ἔχει(ν)  
 ] των τοιούτων διη-  
 15 αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος Γαῖου Ἀυρηλίου Οὐαλερίου  
 Διοκλητιανοῦ καὶ αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος Μάρκου Ἀυρηλίου Οὐαλερίου  
 Μαξιμιανῶν Γερμανικῶν Μεγίστων Εὐσεβίων Εὐτυχῶν Σεβαστῶ(ν)  
 (Second hand) ] ἔγραψα ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ μὴ εἰδότες γράμματα.

2476

B

Τιβέριος Καίσαρ, [ἀρχιερεὺς μέγιστος, δημαρχικῆς ἐξουσίας τὸ β', ὑπατο[s] τὸ  
 δ', πατὴρ πατρίδος, [ ]τ[ ] . . [ ] τοῖς [ἀπὸ τῆς] οἰκουμένης περὶ τὸν Διό-  
 νυσον τεχνεῖταις,  
 ἱερονεῖκαις, σ[τεφανεῖταις καὶ τοῖς τούτων συναγωνισταῖς χα]ίρειν. τὰς μὲν ἰκό-  
 νας ὃν τρὸς[ον εὐσε]βούμεθα [μετὰ] τῆς πρεπούσης τιμῆς ἀνιστάνειν ἐπιτρέ-  
 πω, τὰ δὲ ὑπὸ τ[οῦ] θεοῦ Σεβαστοῦ δεδομένα ὑμῖν νόμματα καὶ φιλα[ν]θρωπα

συντηρῶ. οἱ πρέσβεις ἦσαν Κλαύδιος Θ[α]μῦρις, Κλαύδιος Κάρτωρ, Ἄν-  
 τώνιος ἀταλειος  
 υἱὸς λόγιος. [ c. 25 Τιβεριῶ Κλαυδίω Καίσαρι Σεβαστῶ καὶ Ἰουλίῳ  
 Οὐπιτελλίῳ τὸ β' ὑπάτοις. κεφάλειον ἐκ διατάγματος[ς] θεοῦ Ἀδρια-  
 5 νοῦ περὶ τῶν δοθεισῶν δωρεῶν τῇ συνόδῳ, ὧν δὲ οὐσῶν ἀσυλείας, προεδρίας,  
 ἀστρατί[as], λιτουργιῶν δημοσίων ἀ[τ]ελεξ[as], ἀτελεῖ ἔχειν ὅσα ἂν ἐπάγωντε,  
 χρίας ἰδ[ c. 25 μὴ καθίστάγειν [ἐ]γγυητὰς ἀνεισφο[ρ]ίας αὐτῶν, συνθυ-  
 σία[s, μὴ δέχεσθαι] πρὸς ἀνάγκην ξένους, μὴ  
 εἶργεσθαι[μὴ δὲ ἄλλη τινὶ φρουρᾷ? . . . . .] . . ωθειση θανάτῳ ὑπευθυν . η.  
 ἐπιστολ[ῇ] θεοῦ Σεουήρου . . . . .] . . ικος ὑμᾶς τοὺς τὴν ἱεράν  
 σύνο[δον] νέμοντας ἡσθῆναι ἐπὶ τῷ εἰς ἐμὲ περιεληλυθῆναι τὴν τῶν ὄλων κηδε-  
 μορίαν καὶ βασιλείαν διὰ ψηφίσματος φα]νεράν ποιῆσαι τὴν γνώ-  
 10 μνη [ c. 35 βουλό]μενος [δ]π[ό]σα εἴχετα[ι] ἐξ ἀρ[χ]ῆς ὑπὸ τῶν [πρὸ] ἐμοῦ  
 αὐτοκρατόρων] δεδομένα ὑμῖν δίκαι-  
 10 α καὶ [φι]λάνθρωπα ταῦτα καὶ αὐτὸς φυλάττω προσαύξειν ἐθέλω]ν καὶ διὰ τ[ι]μῆς  
 ἄγειν ἄνδρας μουσικ[ ] c. 20 ] . ν θρησκείαις ανα-  
 κ . . . [ c. 5 εὐτυχεῖτε. θεοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου. ὅσα θεῶ Ἀντωνείνω]ι πατρὶ  
 ἐμῶ καὶ [θ]εῶ Σευήρω παντῶ μου καὶ τοῖς ἀνωθεν προγόν]οις ἐκρίθη περὶ  
 ὕ[μῶ]ν(ν)  
 . . . [ c. 45 δι]ε[σ]α[φ]ησάμην κύρια εἶναι. οἱ καθ' ἐκ[δ]στην [παν]ήγυριν  
 ἀγνωθέτα]ι πιθαρ[χ]ήσουσιν. οἱ  
 ἀπὸ τῆς οἰκο[υ]μένης περὶ τὸν Διόνυσον τεχνῖται κ]αὶ ἡ ἱερά μο[υ]σι[κ]ή περι-  
 πολιτικῆ οἰκουμ[ε]ν[ι]κῆ [Διοκλητιανῆ Μαξ]ιμιανῆ εὐσε]βη εὐτυχῆ  
 σεβαστῆ με[γ]άλῃ σύνοδος τῶν περὶ τὸν Διόνυσον τεχ]νιτῶν ἱερονε]κ[ῶν] στεφαν[ι]-  
 15 τῶν τοῖς ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς συνόδου τεχνί]ταις ἱερονίκα[ις] σ[τε]φανίτα[ι]ς  
 χαίρειν. γινώσκετε . . . ] . ν[ c. 5 εἰς τὴν ἱεράν] μουσικῆν [ . . ] περιπο-  
 λειτικῆν οἰκουμ[ε]νικῆν Δ[ιοκλητιανῆ] Μ[αξ]ιμ[ι]ανῆ με[γ]άλῃν σύνοδον  
 Ἀυρηλίον Ἀ[τ]ρ[ῆ]ν Πετε]ρησίον Νεχ[θ]ενίβιος ἀρ]χιερέα Ὁξ[υ]ρυ[γ]χ[ε]ί[τ]ην καὶ  
 ἀποδεδωκότ[α] τὸ κατὰ τὸν νόμον β[ασιλικ]ὸν [ἐν]τάγιον πᾶν ἐκ πλήρους  
 (δηνάρια) ὧν'  
 καὶ τὰ εἰς τὰ [ε]ρᾶ φ[ε]βαστὰ τελέσματα. ἐ[γ]ράψαμ]εν ὑμῖν ἴν' ἰδῆται. ἐρρω-  
 σθαι. ἐτελέσθη ἐν τῇ λαμπρᾷ καὶ λογμ[ω]τ[ῆ]τι καὶ σεμνοτάτῃ Π[ι]α]γο-  
 πολιτῶν πό-  
 λει ἐπὶ τῆς ζ' Πυθιάδος ἀγῶνος ἀγομ[έ]νου ἱερο]ῦ εἰσελαστικοῦ οἰκουμ[ε]νικοῦ σκη-  
 νικοῦ γυμνικοῦ πυθικοῦ Περσέω[ς] Οὐ]ρανίου τῶν μεγάλων Πανίων ἐπὶ



ἀρχόντων τῆς συνόδου, ἀρχοντας πρ[ώτου] Μάρκου Αὐρηλίου Ἑρακλείου Κο-  
 μόδου Ἀντινοέως κα[ὶ] Πανοπολείτου Ὀλυμπιονίκου πυθιο[ν]ίου κα-  
 20 π[ι]τωνίου πλειστονίου παραδόξ[ου], ἀντ[άρχοντος] γραμματέως Ἀγαθοκλέους  
 τοῦ καὶ Ἀστερίου κιθαδωροῦ Ἀ[λε]ξ[α]νδρέως καὶ Ἀντινοέως καὶ Λυκοπο-  
 λείτου πυθιονίου πλει[στο]νίου παρ[αδόξου], ἀρχοντας νομοδίκτο[ν] Αὐρηλίου  
 Κασυλλᾶ Παροπολείτου καὶ Ἀντινο[έ]ως σαλπ[ι]γ[κ]τοῦ Ὀλυμπιονίκου πυθι-  
 ονίου πλειστονίου παραδόξου. Αὐρήλ[ιος] Ἑ[ρ]ακλ[ε]ῖος ὁ καὶ Νικαντίνοος  
 Ἀντινοεὺς καὶ Π[α]νοπολείτης καὶ Ἑρμοπολείτης καὶ Λυκοπολείτης καὶ  
 Ὁξυ-  
 ρυ[γ]χίτης Ὀλυμπιονίκης καπιτωλιον[ί]κης πυθιονίκης πλειστονίκης παρ[ά]δοξος  
 ἀρχων πρῶτος τῆς ἱερᾶς μ[ο]υσικῆς Διοκλητιανῆς Μαξιμιανῆς  
 μεγάλης συνόδου ὑπέγραψα καὶ ἐσφράγισα καταταγέ[ν]τ[ι] ἐπ' ἐμοῦ ἐν τῇ Παρο-  
 πολειτῶν λαμπροτάτῃ καὶ σεβαστάτῃ πόλει ἐπὶ τῆς ζ' Πυθι-  
 25 ἀδος ἀγῶνος ἀγομένου ἱεροῦ ἐσλαστικ[οῦ] οἰκ[ο]νομικ[οῦ] θυμεικοῦ σκηνοῦ  
 Περσέως Οὐρανίου τῶν μεγάλων Πανείων Αὐρήλιον Ἀτρήν  
 Πατασίον Νεχθενίβιος Ὁξυρυγ[χ]εῖ[την] ἀρχιερεῖ, Μάρκος Αὐρήλιος Ἀγαθοκλῆς  
 ὁ καὶ Ἀστέριος κιθαδωρὸς Ἀλεξανδρεὺς καὶ Ἀντινοεὺς καὶ Λυκοπο-  
 λέτης καπιτωλιονίκης πυθιονίκης π[λ]ειστονίκης παράδοξος ἀντάρχων γραμ-  
 ματεὺς τῆς ἱερᾶς μουσ[ικ]ῆς Διοκλητιανῆς Μαξιμιανῆς  
 μεγάλη[ς] συνόδου ὑπέγραψα καὶ ἐσφράγισα καταταγέ[ν]τι ἐπ' ἐμοῦ ἐν τῇ Πανο-  
 πολειτῶν λαμπροτάτῃ καὶ εὐσεβεστάτῃ πόλει ἐπὶ τῆς ζ' Πυθιάδος.

4. 1. κεφάλαιον. 5. 1. ἐπάγεται. 9. 1. εἴχετε. 17. 1. ἦν εἶδητε, ἔρωσθε.  
 20. 1. κιθαρωδοῦ. 26. 1. Πετρησίου, κιθαρωδοῦ.

## Γ

ἀγῶνος ἀγομένου ἱεροῦ ἐσλαστικ[οῦ] οἰκουμηνικοῦ θυμ[ε]λικ[οῦ] σκηνοῦ Περσέως  
 Οὐρανίου τῶν μεγάλων Πανείων Αὐρήλιον Ἀτρήν Πετρησίου Νεχθενίβιος  
 Ὁξυρυγ[χ]ίτην  
 30 ἀρχιερέα. Αὐρήλιος Κασυλλᾶς Πανοπολείτης καὶ Ἀντινο[έ]ως Ὀλυμπιονίκης καὶ  
 πυθιονίκης ἀρχων νομοδίκτης τῆς ἱερᾶς μουσικῆς περιπολε[ι]στικῆς Δ[ι]ο-  
 κλητιανῆς Μαξιμιανῆς μεγάλης συνόδου  
 ὑπέγραψα καὶ ἐσφράγισα καταταγέ[ν]τα ἐπ' ἐμοῦ ἐν τῇ Πανοπολειτῶν λαμπροτάτῃ  
 πολεισσεβαστατηπολειστικῆς θυμεικοῦ σκηνοῦ γυμν[ο]ῦ Περσέως  
 Οὐ[ρ]ανίου τῶν μεγάλων Πανείων  
 Αὐ[ρ]ήλιον Ἀτρήν Πετρησίου Νεχθενίβιος Ὁξυρυγ[χ]εῖ[την] ἀρχιερέα. Μάρκος Αὐ-

ρήλιος Ὁρίων Ἑρμοπολείτης καὶ κόλων Ἀντιοχέ[ς] μητροπολείτης καὶ  
 ἄλλων πολλῶν πόλεων πολείτης  
 σαλπ[ι]γ[κ]τ[ῆ]ς Ὀλυμ[π]ιονίκης πολλάκις πυθι[ο]ν[ί]κης καπιτωλιονίκης [ . . . ] ἰο-  
 ν[ί]κης πλειστονείκης παράδοξος διοικήσας τὸν ἀγῶνα ἐτέλεσα τὴν διπλῆν.  
 ψήφ[ι]σμα τῆς ἱερᾶς μουσικῆς Διοκλητιανῆς καὶ Μαξιμιανῆς οἰκουμηνικῆς περι-  
 πο[λ]ιστικῆς μεγάλης συνόδου τῶν ἀφιγμένων ἐ[ν] ταύτῃ τῇ λαμπρᾷ λογι-  
 μωτάτῃ καὶ σεμνοτάτῃ Πανοπολει-  
 35 τῶν πόλει ἐπὶ τῆς ζ' Πυθιάδος ἀγῶνος ἀγομέ[ν]του ἱεροῦ ἐσλαστικ[οῦ] οἰκου-  
 μηνικ[οῦ] σκηνοῦ γυμνικ[οῦ] πυθικοῦ Περσέως Οὐρανίου τῶν μεγάλων  
 Πανείων. ἃ ἔδοξεν· παραβληθῆναι [δι]πλῆ  
 θιον [ c. 13 ] ση[μανθεντι] τῇ ἱερᾷ τοῦ καθηγεμόνος ἡμ[ῶν] Διονύσου σφραγίδι  
 ἀναδοθῆναι τῇ κ[ρ]ατίστη βουλή καὶ τῷ [λογίμ]ω δήμῳ τῆς Ὁξυρυγ[χ]ιτῶν  
 λαμπρᾶς καὶ λαμπρο-  
 τάτης πόλεως. εἰσηγησα[μέν]ου Αὐρηλί[ο]υ Κασυλλᾶ Πανοπολείτου καὶ Ἀντι-  
 νοέως Ὀλυμπιονίκου πυθιονίου πλειστονίου παραδόξου ἐπ[ι]μνηφισαμένου  
 Μάρκου Αὐρηλίου Ἀγρικόλου Πανο-  
 πολείτου [σαλπ[ι]γ[κ]τοῦ] Ὀλυμπιονίκου πυθιονίου πλειστονίου παραδόξου. ἐπι-  
 στεφανῶσθαι καὶ προσεληλυθέναι πορφυροφόρ[ο] τῷ χρυσῷ στεφάνῳ τοῦ  
 καθοσιωμένου στηθ[ῶ] .  
 τῶν κυ[ρ]ίων ἡμῶν ἀπ[ο] τῶν Διοκλητιανοῦ καὶ Μαξιμιανοῦ [ c. 15 ]  
 ἡμένους τε διὰ τιμῆς [ἐ]λθεῖν εἰ [ ] τῇ [ c. 10 ] ὡν, ἀνταμίβεσθαι  
 δὲ ταῖς ἴσας καὶ [ὁ]μοίαις [τιμα]ί[ς]  
 40 τούτ[ο] [ c. 20 ] φανερόν ὑμῖν ποιούμενοι τῆς ἱερᾶς μουσικῆς συνόδου ἀνα-  
 κηρύχθαι καὶ ἐστεφανωμεν[ ] [ c. 15 ]. ἰκόνι περιχρῶσθαι ἐπὶ τῷ καὶ  
 α[ ]υτος  
 ευνελ[ ] [ c. 15 ] ὡς ἐκ τοῦ τῆς ἱερ[ᾶ]ς συνόδου ἐκ τοῦ εὐτυχ[ ] [ c. 10 ]  
 εντος μεγάλου ἀγῶνος τῶν Πανοπολειτῶν τῆ[ς] λαμπ[ρᾶ]ς καὶ λογμωτάτης  
 καὶ σεμνοτάτης π[ό]λεως  
 ὡς Αὐρηλί[ο]ν Ἀτρήν Πατασίου Νεχθενίβιος ἀρχιερέα ἀπὸ τῆς λαμπ[ρᾶ]ς καὶ  
 λαμπροτάτης Ὁξυρυγ[χ]ιτῶν πόλεως εὐσε[β]οῦ[ν]τα τὸν θίον ὄρκον τῶν  
 κυρίων ἡμῶν Διοκλητιανοῦ  
 καὶ Μαξιμιαν[οῦ] ἀπ[ο] τῶν Σεβαστῶν δ[ι]κα[ι]ον ἡγησάμεθα <μ>ῆ ἔλατ'τον τῶν  
 ἄλλων ἀπενέγ'κασθαι παρὰ τῆς ἱερᾶς μουσικῆς συνόδου {ἱερᾶς} διὸ κατε-  
 στήσαμεν αὐτὸν ἀρχιερέα οὐ κα-  
 τεστήσαμεν ἀγῶνος τῆς ζ' Πυθιάδος πενταετηρίδος ἀγῶνος ἱεροῦ ἐσλαστικ[οῦ]

οίκουμεικοῦ σκηνικοῦ γυμνικοῦ πυθίου Περσεῶς Οὐρανίου τῶν μεγάλων Πανίων. καὶ  
 45 παρεπέμψ[ψ]αμεν ὑμῖν τόδε τὸ ψήφισμα ἵν' ἴδῃται καὶ ἡμεῖς τοῦ ἀνδρὸς εἰς ἡμᾶς  
 προαίρεσιν καὶ τὴν τῆς ἱερᾶς μουσικῆς συνόδου εἰς τὸν ἄνδρα τιμὴν περὶ τοῦ  
 ἀτελεῖ καὶ ἀλιτούργη-  
 τον εἶναι κατὰ τὰ περὶ τούτων θίων διηγορευμένα. Μάρκος Αὐρήλιος Κασυλλᾶς  
 Πανοπολείτης καὶ Ἀντινοεύς, σαλπυκτῆς, ὀλυμπιονίκης, πυθιονίκης,  
 πλειστονίκης παρά-  
 δοξος εἰσηγησάμην. Μάρκος Αὐρήλιος Ἀγρικόλαος Πανοπολείτης σαλπυκτῆς,  
 ὀλυμπιονίκης πυθιονίκης πλειστονίκης παράδοξος ἐψήφισα. Μάρκος Αὐ-  
 ρήλιος Ὀρίων  
 Ἐρμοπολείτης καὶ κόλων Ἀντινοεὺς μητροπολείτης καὶ ἄλλων πολλῶν πόλεων  
 πολείτης σαλπυκτῆς, ὀλυμπιονίκης πολλάκις πυθιονίκης καπιτωλιονίκης  
 πλειστο-  
 νείκης παράδοξος ἐξέδωκα τὸ ψήφισμα.  
 50 (ἔτους) δ' καὶ (ἔτους) γ' τῶν κυρίων ἡμῶν Διοκλητιανοῦ καὶ Μαξιμιανοῦ Εὐσεβῶν  
 Εὐτυχῶν Σεβαστῶν. Μεσορῆ β'.

42. I. Πετρεσίου.

44. I. πυθικοῦ.

45. I. ἵν' εἶδῃτε, ὑμεῖς.

46. I. θεῖως.

## 2477

## Δ

τῇ κρατίστῃ βουλῇ τῆς λαμπρᾶς καὶ λαμπροτάτης Ὀξυρυγῆος διὰ  
 ἀξιολογωτάτου Αὐρηλίου Ἀσκληπιάδου Ἀχιλλίωρος ὑπο-  
 μνημ(ατογράφου) γυμνασιάρχου βουλευτοῦ ἐνάρχου πρυτανέως τῆς αὐτῆς  
 πόλεως  
 5 παρὰ Αὐρηλίου Ἀμμωνος Ἀμμωνος ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς πόλ[εως] διὰ  
 βίου ἱερονικῶν ἀσκήσας τὸ τῶν πανκρατιαστῶν ἀγώνισμα  
 κοσμήσας τὴν θρεψαμένην ὡς οὐδὲ ὑμῖν ἡγνόη[ται]  
 καὶ εἰς τοὺς ἕξω τόπους γενέσθαι προσταλμένο[  
 ἢ τῶν  
 νας \* οὐς εἰάν θεῶν πρόνοια συναρομένη.]  
 10 ὑμετέρας τύχης παρασχε κρημη. . . . . [ ταύ-  
 τιν τε τὴν δέσιν ἀξίων συμψηφο[ ]ς [

νοὺς ἐκδόσθαι μοι τὰ περὶ τούτου συνη. [

διευτυχεῖται

(ἔτους) γ' Αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος Γαῖου Αὐρηλίου Οὐαλερίου  
 15 Διοκλητιανοῦ καὶ (ἔτους) δ' Αὐτοκράτορος Κ[αίσαρος Μάρκου  
 Αὐρηλίου Οὐαλερίου Μαξιμιανοῦ Γερμανικῶν Μεγίστων  
 Εὐσεβῶν, Εὐτυχῶν, Σεβαστῶν. Φαρμού[θι  
 (Second hand) Αὐρήλιος Ἀμμων ἐπιδέδωκα

4 lines of shorthand

13. I. διευτυχεῖτε.

15. First two letters of Διοκλητιανοῦ altered from Ma.

- 2476 'Tiberius (Claudius) Caesar, *pontifex maximus*, in the second term of his tribunician power, consul for the fourth time (?), father of his country, (imperator for the fourth time ; ) to the Dionysiac artists of the empire, victors in the sacred games, wearers of the garland, and to their associates, greeting.  
 'I permit the erection of such statues as those with which we may be worshipped with proper reverence, and confirm the rights and favours granted you by the god Augustus.  
 'The ambassadors were Claudius Thamyris, Claudius Castor, Antonius Cataleios, noble son . . . in the consulship of Tiberius Claudius Caesar Augustus and in the second consulship of Julius (*sic*) Vitellius.  
 'Summary of an edict of the god Hadrian concerning the grants conferred upon the society. Which are, inviolability, seating precedence, exemption from military service, immunity from public duties, to keep untaxed all that they earn from private business or the games (?) . . . not to supply guarantors, exemption from special taxes, communal sacrifice, not to be forced to supply billets for foreigners, nor to be imprisoned (?) . . . ed, or liable to the death penalty.  
 'Letters of the god Severus. . . . that you of the holy society rejoiced when the crown and the government of all things devolved upon me and (?) that you made your opinion known through a resolution . . . wishing . . . all the rights and favours that you have had from the beginning, bestowed by emperors before me, those I too maintain, with the intention of preferring and holding in esteem men of artist . . . religious rites. . . . Farewell.  
 '(Letter) of the god Alexander. All that my father, the god Antoninus, and my grandfather, the god Severus, and my ancestors before them declared concerning you. . . . I declare valid.  
 'The Masters of the Games at every festival shall obey  
 'The Dionysiac artists of the empire and the holy, artistic, travelling, world-wide, grand society of Dionysiac artists, victors in the sacred games, wearers of the garland, under the patronage of Diocletian and Maximian, pious, auspicious, august (?); to the artists of that same society, victors in the sacred games, wearers of the garland, greeting.  
 'Know that there has been appointed as high priest to the holy, artistic, travelling, world-wide, grand society, under the patronage of Diocletian and Maximian, Aurelius Hatres, son of Nechthenibis, an Oxryhnhite, and that he has paid the entrance fee prescribed by imperial law, all and in full, 850 denarii, and the pay-

ments for the temples of the emperors. We wrote you that you might know. Farewell. Executed in the noble and most renowned and most reverend city of the Panopolites, in the seventh Pythiad, during the presentation of the sacred, iselastic, international, Pythian, scenic and athletic games of Perseus of the Sky, at the great festival of Pan, in the presence of the following officers of the society. First officer: the astounding Marcus Aurelius Heracleius Comodus, citizen of Antinoopolis and Panopolis, victor in the Olympic, Pythian and Capitoline games, victor of many games. Second officer and secretary: the astounding Agathocles, called Asterius, citharode, citizen of Alexandria, Antinoopolis and Lycopolis, victor in the Pythian games, victor of many games. Officer in charge of the constitution: the astounding Aurelius Casyllas, citizen of Panopolis and Antinoopolis, trumpeter, victor in the Olympic and Pythian games, victor of many games.

'I, the astounding Aurelius Heracleius, called Nicantinoos, citizen of Antinoopolis and Panopolis and Hermopolis and Lycopolis and Oxyrhynchus, victor in the Olympic, Capitoline and Pythian games, victor of many games, first officer of the holy, artistic, grand society, under the patronage of Diocletian and Maximian, signed and sealed for Aurelius Hatres, son of Peteesius, son of Nechthenibis, an Oxyrhynchite, on his enrolment as high priest in my presence in the most noble city and most august city of the Panopolites, in the seventh Pythiad, during the presentation of the sacred, iselastic, international, dramatic and scenic games of Perseus of the Sky at the great festival of Pan.

'I, the astounding Marcus Aurelius Agathocles, called Asterius, citharode, citizen of Alexandria and Antinoopolis and Lycopolis, victor in the Capitoline and Pythian games, victor of many games, second officer and secretary of the holy, artistic, grand society under the patronage of Diocletian and Maximian, signed and sealed for Aurelius Hatres, son of Peteesius, son of Nechthenibis, an Oxyrhynchite, on his enrolment as high priest in my presence in the most noble and most pious city of the Panopolites, in the seventh Pythiad, during the presentation of the sacred, iselastic, international, dramatic and scenic games of Perseus of the Sky at the great festival of Pan.

'I, Aurelius Casyllas, citizen of Panopolis and Antinoopolis, victor in the Olympic and Pythian games, officer in charge of the constitution of the holy, artistic, travelling, grand society under the patronage of Diocletian and Maximian, signed and sealed for Aurelius Hatres, son of Peteesius, son of Nechthenibis, an Oxyrhynchite, on his enrolment as high priest in my presence in the most noble city and most august (?) city of the Panopolites, (in the seventh Pythiad, during the presentation of the sacred, iselastic, international, dramatic, scenic and athletic (games) of Perseus of the Sky at the great festival of Pan.

'I, the astounding Marcus Aurelius Horion, citizen of Hermopolis, colonist of the metropolis of Antioch and citizen of many other cities, trumpeter, victor in the Olympic and often in the Pythian games, victor in the Capitoline and . . . ian games, victor of many games, president of the games, executed this diploma.

'Resolution of those of the holy, artistic, world-wide, travelling, grand society under the patronage of Diocletian and Maximian, that have arrived in this noble and most renowned and most reverend city of the Panopolites in the 7th Pythiad during the presentation of the sacred, iselastic, international, scenic, athletic, Pythian games of Perseus of the Sky at the great festival of Pan. The resolutions: that the imperial edict be added to the diplo and delivered, bearing a mark of the seal of our leader Dionysus, to the mighty senate and the renowned people of the noble and most noble city of the Oxyrhynchites. Moved by the astounding Aurelius

Casyllas, Panopolite and Antinoopolite, victor in the Olympic and Pythian games, victor of many games. Seconded by the astounding Marcus Aurelius Agricolaos, Panopolite, trumpeter, victor in the Olympic and Pythian games, victor of many games.

(Ll. 38-42 are too badly damaged to make continuous sense)

'Aurelius Hatres son of Peteesius, son of Nechthenibis, high priest, from the noble and most noble city of the Oxyrhynchites, who reverence the imperial oath by our lords Diocletian and Maximian, invincible Augusti . . . we thought it right that he should not gain less than the others from the sacred artistic society; so we appointed him high priest during the games when we did, namely in the seventh quinquennial Pythiad of the sacred, iselastic, international, scenic, athletic, Pythian games of Perseus of the Sky at the great festival of Pan and we sent you this resolution so that you too might know the man's goodwill towards us and the honour in which the holy society holds him, as concerns his exemption from taxes and liturgies in accordance with the imperial pronouncements on these subjects.

'I, the astounding Marcus Aurelius Casyllas, Panopolite and Antinoopolite, trumpeter, victor in the Olympic and Pythian games, victor of many games, moved the resolution. I, the astounding Marcus Aurelius Agricolaos, Panopolite, trumpeter, victor in the Olympic and Pythian games, victor of many games, seconded the resolution. I, the astounding Marcus Aurelius Horion, Hermopolite and citizen of the colony and metropolis of Antioch and citizen of many other cities, trumpeter, victor in the Olympic games and often in the Pythian games, victor in the Capitoline games, victor of many games, presented the resolution.

'In the fourth year and the third year of our lords Diocletian and Maximian, pious, happy, august. Mesore, 2nd.'

2475 I Cf. 2477 I for the restoration.

6 Ἰσρεφανω: perhaps a reference to the badly damaged passage in 2476 38 ff.

11 Ἰδινλη: probably meaning 2476, v. introduction.

12 ἀξιῶ? Hatres' request for recognition of his status.

15-17. A date formula? cf. 2476 50 and 2477, 14-17, but in these places the date begins on a new line. τὰ περὶ τῶν τοιούτων διαγροϋμένα ὑπὸ ?

2476 I Τιβέριος Καίσαρ: this should mean Tiberius, but the titles though confused show that Claudius is meant.

δ. ε. τὸ β': his second term of *tribunicia potestas* lasted from 25th Jan. A.D. 42 to 24th Jan. A.D. 43.

δ. τὸ δ': his fourth consulship was in A.D. 47. Clearly the titles are wrong. BGU has δ. τὸ γ', which suits Jan. A.D. 43 and would date the letter between 1 and 24 Jan., v. supra.

The lacuna should contain ἀνοκράτωρ τὸ γ' but BGU has δ', which would put the document later in A.D. 43; cf. Viereck (*Klio* viii, p. 418) on the confusions of the parallel passage of BGU.

τ[οῖς [ἀπὸ τῆς] οἰκουμένης: the local bands of Dionysiac artists were combined as a single world-wide society under imperial patronage, probably some time in the second century A.D. The three emperors favoured as the first patron are Trajan, Hadrian and Antoninus (v. San Nicolò, *Ägyptisches Vereinswesen*, Bd. i, p. 58,

Ziebarth, *Griechisches Vereinswesen*, p. 88, Poland, *Geschichte des griechischen Vereinswesens*, p. 143). A. Müller (*Lehrbuch der griechischen Bühnenaltertümer*, p. 411, n. 5) thought that independent societies continued to exist. That societies other than the *οἰκουμένη* existed in or after the reign of Claudius is certain, e.g. from *CIG* 3082, where *οἱ ἀπὸ τῆς Ἰωνίας καὶ Ἑλλησπόντου (περὶταί)* honour a Greek called Tiberius Claudius and enrolled in Quirina. By his Roman names and tribe he must have become a citizen under Claudius at the earliest, cf. 2471 3. But some suppose that the world-wide society was founded by Augustus, cf. l. 3 [= BGU l. 2] τὰ δὲ ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ Σεβαστοῦ δεδομένα ὑμῖν νόμιμα, Suet. *Aug.* 45 '(Augustus) athleticis et conseruauit priuilegia et ampliauit'. v. San Nicolò, op. cit. p. 54 and cf. ll. 5 ff.

Within the society the local organization still functioned, v. BCH 9, p. 124, where the members in Ephesus are contrasted with *οἱ ἐπὶ Ῥώμης*. The officers of the society in this papyrus are Egyptian to a man and obviously do not control its world-wide activities.

- 2 *συναγωνισταῖς*: of doubtful meaning. The word was used very early in the history of the local societies, v. *CIG* 3068 B from Teos, in which the *συναγωνισταὶ* have a *κοινὸν* of their own. Poland (*de collegiis artificum Dionysiacorum*, pp. 10 ff.) approved Boeckh's theory that they were artists of another society working with the Teans for the moment. If the *οἰκουμένη* was the only society, no *συναγωνισταὶ* could be said to exist, in this sense. But the local organization did in fact survive, so that the word could have retained its use.
- 2-3. [εὖσε]βοῦμεθα . . . ἐπιτρέπω: for the alternation between singular and plural cf. Claudius' letter to the Alexandrines, passim. The plural, however, includes the whole imperial house, not Claudius alone.
- 3 *πρέσβεις*: BGU has Κλαύδιος Φο[ ]ος, Κλαύδιος Ἐπάγαθος, Κλ[αύ]διος Διονύσιος, Κλαύδιος Θαμύρις. The last seems to be our Κλ. Θ[α]μύρις. It appears that our scribe lost his place among the Claudii and began in the middle of the list.
- 4 Ἰουλῶ: read Λουκίῳ. BGU has only Οὐτελλίῳ.
- διατάγμα[το]ς: Hadrian's communication is distinguished from the letters of the other emperors by its title of *διάγραμμα*. The rights are not listed for their novelty. Except *συνθυσία*, all can be paralleled, most of them from documents of the early history of the local societies. Cf. also Diod. iv. 4. 5. 4. *συνθυσία* is conjectured to mean the right of assembly as a guild (A. C. Johnson, *Roman Egypt*, p. 400).
- 5 ὦν δὲ οὐσ[ ]ῶν κτλ.: BGU ὦν δὲ ε. [ . . . ]ν ἀσπλία προε[ ]. Possibly it ran ὦν δὲ εἶναι followed by nominatives ἀσπλία, προεδρία etc.; if so there was some change of construction at *συνθυσίας*. I take all the privileges as being in the genitive absolute with infinitives paralleling the genitives where the privilege is not expressed in one word.
- 6 *χρίαις* ιδ[ ]: BGU is reported π[ ]ολῆται *χρίαις* ἰερᾶς ἢ τῶν ἀγώνων [ . . . ] καὶ κρ[ ]νευ μὴ καθιστάειν κτλ. π[ ]ολῆται is probably wrongly read. I should like to read (ἐκ) *χρίαις* ἰδίας κτλ. 'all that they earn from private business or from the games', i.e. ἀτέλεια was not confined to professional earnings only.
- ἀνεισφορίας: ἀ. is a privilege by itself, v. Segre, *Rev. Fil. Istr. Class.* 16 (1938), pp. 260 f., but perhaps it is best taken with *αὐτῶν* and μὴ καθιστάειν ἐργητάς, cf. Viereck, op. cit. pp. 418 f.
- 7 θανάτῳ ὑπευθῶν: η: 'subject to the death penalty', but the grammar and the correct reading escape me.
- θεοῦ Σεουήρου: in BGU so much was lost it was impossible to decide if the emperor was Antoninus, Severus, or Commodus, and Viereck thought that Σεουήρου was part

of the letter. Here only θεοῦ can be missing and the emperor must be Septimius Severus.

- ] . . . ακος: BGU is reported ] . ακος. Here the doubtful letter is ε or α. Something is needed to govern ὑμᾶς . . . ἠσθῆναι κτλ. Perhaps a barbarous spelling of a perfect participle in -ικός, or εικός, e.g. [ἐπεὶ ε]ικός . . .
- 8 The space in the first gap will not contain all that is found in the same passage of BGU, unless something was interlined. It would be natural for this Egyptian branch of the society to leave out ἐν τῇ πατρίδι μου (after νέμοντας), thereby transforming a letter addressed to the Leptis Magna branch into a general bestowal of thanks and confirmation of privileges.
- BGU is reported . . . καὶ βασιλείαν διὰ κτλ., but καὶ is required after βασιλείαν too.
- 11 Ἀντωνεῖνω]: the ι a very long descender. Ἀντωνεῖνω from BGU, but there is no other example of iota adscript in the document.
- πατρί: Caracalla.
- Σενήρω: confirming Viereck's conjecture where BGU read Οὐήρω.
- παντῶ: read πάππῳ with BGU = Severus.
- εἰ[μῶ]: the suspension mark is visible above the lost letters.
- 13 εὖσε[ ]βη εὐτυχῆ: recte εὖσεβής, εὐτυχής? Both adjectives, with σεβαστή, rightly refer to the emperors and not to the society. Probably they are mistakenly added through the scribe's habit of writing them after the emperors' names.
- 15 After γνώσκετε sc. the force of καταλεγεμένον or καταταγέντα.
- [ . . . ] περιπολειοτικῆν: there is space in the gap for, say, two letters besides π. It was probably blank or had some cancelled letters.
- 16 ἀρ]χερέα: from γραμματέα in the same position in BGU Viereck concluded that Apollodidymus was a scribe by profession. I would prefer to take it as the limitation of his appointment, 'appointed scribe, high-priest', cf. l. 43 διὸ κατεστήσαμεν αὐτὸν ἀρχερέα.
- βασιλικὸν agrees with νόμον as is shown by BGU's κ. τ. ν. τὸν βασιλικόν. ων' (850) for BGU's ον' (250) reflects the inflation of the late third century.
- 17 τὰ εἰς τὰ ἱερὰ σεβαστὰ τελέσματα: I have failed to trace these. Are they payments for sacred games called Σεβαστά? or for the shrines of the emperors? BGU is reported καὶ τὰ εἰς τὰς τιμὰς τοῦ ἑως ϚϚ.
- 18 ἐπὶ τῆς ζ' Πυθιάδος: i.e. A.D. 289 was the first year of the 7th Pythiad (v. l. 44 πενταετηρίδος). These games must have been founded in A.D. 265.
- Περσεῶς: the Egyptian god Min is usually identified with Pan, hence this city of Min is called Panopolis and has a great festival of Pan, but Herodotus associates Panopolis (Χέμμυς, ii. 91) with Perseus, and tells us that the people of Panopolis held athletic games in the Greek fashion in honour of Perseus; ibid. 4 ποιεῖσι δὲ τὰδε Ἑλληνικὰ τῷ Περσεῖ. ἀγῶνα γυμνικὸν τιθεῖσι διὰ πάσης ἀγωνίης ἔχοντα, παρέχοντες ἀεθλα κτήνεα καὶ χλαίνας καὶ δέρματα . . . 6 ἀγῶνα δὲ οἱ γυμνικὸν αὐτοῦ κελεύσαντος ἐπιτελέειν.
- 24 καταταγέντ[ ]: here as well as in BGU the scribe was uncertain what case should follow ὑπέγραφα καὶ ἐσφράγισα. BGU had the dative each time in καταταγέντα, but the following name appears either in the gen. or dat. Here the scribe mixes the dat. and acc. until the last statement (ll. 30-2), where he has the acc. consistently.
- 31 Read πόλει[σ] (καὶ) σεβ[ ](ε) (στ) (στ) (στ) (στ) (στ) (στ) (στ) πόλει (ἐπὶ τῆς ζ' Πυθιάδος ἀγῶνος ἀγομένου ἱεροῦ εἰσελαστικοῦ) οἴκου(μενικοῦ) κτλ. Cf. σεβαστάτη l. 24; εὖσεβαστάτη l. 28.
- 32 κόλων Ἀντιοχεῖς μητροπολίτης: both Antioch in Syria and Antioch in Pisidia were *coloniae*, v. *RE* iv (1901), cols. 531, 553. For the phrase cf. Moretti, *Iscrizioni agonistiche greche*, No. 85 κόλων Λαοδικεῖς μητροπολίτης.
- 33 [ . . . ] , ιον[ ] κης: [\*Ακ]τιον[ ] κης? [\*Α]σιον[ ] κης?

- 34 τῶν ἀφικμένων: the only explicit phrase to show that a part of the society is concerned.
- 35 ἀ ἔδοξεν: I take this as a separate heading picking up ψήφισμα after the long date formula, i.e. 'decree of . . .'; the resolutions—'that . . .': but it may be the subject of παραβληθῆναι rather than θιον (read θεῖον) . . . ?  
παραβληθῆναι [δὲ] πλῆ: something is to be compared with or added to the διπλῆ, either the resolutions of the society, which presumably follow, or an imperial edict, which might refer to Hadrian's edict (ll. 4-7) or to something that follows here.
- 36 [ : π ο τ τ : θεῖον π[ρόσταγμα ?  
ση]μανθεντι: as a dative this seems impossible to fit in. σημανθέν τι ?, i.e. 'that the imperial edict be added to the diplo and delivered, bearing a mark of the seal of . . . Dionysus, to the mighty Senate etc.' ?
- 38 ἐπι[στεφανώσθαι] etc.: one would expect this to refer to Hatres but the accusative plural in l. 39 ([ . . . ημένους τε κτλ.) suggests that it is a general proclamation of some sort.  
πορφυροφό[ρους] ? Not in LSJ, cf. Ammianus Marcellinus xxi. 1. 4 'inter exordia principatus adsumpti uili corona circumdatus erat xystarchae similis purpurato'.  
στηθ[ ]: cf. perhaps IG 14. 956 B6, where στηθιαῖοι ἀνδριάντες are conjectured to be 'κυρφεῖ, θιασάκες' (LSJ).
- 40 φανερόν ὑμῖν κτλ. makes it appear that the subject is not the society, but cf. ll. 12 f., the letter of the society to its members.
- 40-1. ἐπὶ τῷ καὶ ἀ[ναθεῖναι] ὑπὸς ἐν φ[η]ταί ἀν τόπω τῆς πόλεως ?
- 41 ἐκ τοῦ τῆς . . . ἐκ τοῦ: I suspect some sort of textual confusion here.
- 43 δ[ε] κα[ὶ] ἐ[κ] ἡγήσασθε μ[ε]ν(ῆ): the correction was made by D. M. Lewis.
- 46 Κασυλλας: Κασυλλα at l. 37.
- 47 ἐψήφισα: read (ἐπ)εψήφισά(μην); cf. l. 37.
- 48 Ἀντισοεὺς: read Ἀντισοεὺς; v. l. 32.

- 2477 1 In view of the length of the supplemented lines 14-16 it seems likely that Ὁξυρυγχιτῶν πόλεως was abbreviated to Ὁξ. πόλ. and followed in this line by nothing more than διὰ.
- 2 Ἀθηλαίου Ἀσκληπιάδου Ἀχιλλίω[ος]: a man of the same name appears in PSI 461. 24. I owe this reference to Monsieur Paul Mertens, of Liège, who consulted his card index of names in third-century papyri for all the names in these two documents.
- 5-6. διὰ βίου: ξυστάρχης ? ἀρχιερέως ?
- 7 τὴν θρεψαμένην = τὴν πατρίδα. v. Lycurgus 85, cf. ibid. 47. Perhaps evidence of literary tastes, but cf. P. Oxford 6. 24 and n.
- 8 προσταγμένω[ι]: the reading is very doubtful; perhaps for προσαταμένω. προστέλλω not in Preisigke. For the sense I attribute to it, 'sent out as a champion', LSJ quotes only Aesch. Th. 415.
- 9 \*: this looks like χ with a horizontal stroke through it. It is not the sign for δηνάρια, cf. 2476 16.  
συναρομένη is a literary word, v. LSJ, but cf. also C. P. Herm. 119, Verso 3. 2 συναρομένης τῆς προνοίας τοῦ κυρίου μου λαμπροτάτου ἡγεμόνος.
- 10 The υ of ὑμετέρας is decorated by three dots, one between each pair of arms, i.e. ῥ. παρασχεκροση . . .: before μ the papyrus is not damaged in any way but the writing is so cursive that it is difficult to be sure of the letters. σ, a mere loop in the tail of the preceding α, is well paralleled elsewhere in the document. κρ might

- be ψ, but this would not help, and there is a close similarity to κοσμήσας, l. 7. παράσχη ? παρεσχηκός or -ὼς ?
- 11 Possibly συμψήφο[υ]ς [ὑμῶν καὶ κοινω]νοῦς.
- 12 σση. [ : possibly σσηθ[ ]. If so this is not an extraordinary petition. Whatever he was asking for, pension or privilege, it was the customary attribute of people of his qualifications.
- 14-15. (ἔτους) γ' . . . (ἔτους) δ' : read (ἔτους) δ' . . . (ἔτους) γ'.

## 2478. DEED OF SURETY

c. 22 × 30 cms.

A.D. 595 or 596.

This well-written and well-preserved document is addressed to Flavius Apion III. Zacharias, steward of one of the many Christian churches in Oxyrhynchus, guarantees that Aurelius Pambechius, a *colonus* on the Apion estates, will remain on his fruit farm, and he declares himself liable for all the rents on this fruit farm if Pambechius deserts.

The papyrus is dated in the reign of Maurice but the numbers of the regnal and consular years are inconsistent, as often in this period, and it is doubtful whether the correct year is A.D. 595 or A.D. 596 (cf. 1988, 2239).

There is a badly rubbed inscription written along the fibres of the verso describing the document as ἐγγύη Ζαχαρίου τοῦ . . . ἀπὸ Ὁξυρυγχιτῶν πόλεως (ως) ἀναδεχ(ομένου) Π . . . ἀπὸ ἐποικίου Ἀθλίτου κτ[ή]ματος.

In the transcript I ignore diaereses on iota and the stroke that sometimes appears above hypsilon.

Βα[σιλ]είας τ[οῦ] θ[ε]ο[ῦ] κ[αὶ] εὐσεβ(εστάτου) ἡμῶν δεσπ(ότου) μεγίστου εὐεργέτου

Φλαβίου Μα[υρ]υκίου Νέου Τιβερίου τοῦ αἰωνίου Αὐγούστου καὶ Αὐτοκράτορος ἔτους ιδ' ὑπ[α]τίας τοῦ αὐτοῦ εὐσεβ(εστάτου) ἡμῶν δεσπ(ότου) ἔτους ιγ' Ἀθῶν λ' ἰνδ(ικτίονος) ιδ'.

Φλαβίω Ἀπίωνι τῷ πανευφήμῳ καὶ ὑπερφυστάτῳ ἀπὸ ὑπάτων  
5 γεουχοῦντι καὶ ἐνταῦθα τῇ λαμπρῇ Ὁξυρυγχιτῶν πόλει διὰ Μηνᾶ οἰκέτου τοῦ ἐπερωτῶντος καὶ προσπορίζοντος τῷ ἰδίῳ δεσπότη τῷ αὐτῷ πανευφήμῳ ἀνδρὶ τὴν ἀγωγὴν καὶ ἐνοχίην, Ζαχαρίας οἰκονόμος τῆς ἐκκλησίας τῆς ἁγίας ἀναστάσεως υἱὸς τοῦ τῆς περιβλέπτου μνήμης Ἀναστασίου ὀρμώμενος ἀπὸ ταύτης τῆς Ὁξυρυγχιτῶν  
10 πόλεως ἐξῆς ὑπογράφων ἰδία χειρὶ χαίρειν. ὁμολογῶ ἔκουσῖα

γνώμη καὶ αὐθαρέτῳ προαιρέσει ἐπωμνύμενος τὸν θεῖον καὶ  
σεβάσμιον ὄρκον ἐγγυᾶσθαι καὶ ἀναδέχεσθαι παρὰ τῆς ὑμῶν ὑπερφυείας  
διὰ τῶν αὐτῆ προσηκόντων Αὐρήλιον Παμβήχιον υἱὸν Παύλου  
μητρὸς Θεόκλητος ὀρμώμενος ἀπὸ ἐποικίου Ἀθλίτου κτήματος  
15 τῆς ὑμῶν ὑπερφυείας τοῦ Ὁξυρηνχίτου νομοῦ ἐναπόγραφον  
αὐτῆς πωμαρίτην ἐφ' ᾧ αὐτὸν ἀδιαλείπτως παραμεῖναι καὶ  
διάγειν ἐν τῷ . . . . . αὐτῶν γεουχικῶ πωμαρίῳ καὶ πᾶσαν φιλοκάλειαν  
καὶ καλλιέργειαν ἐπ' αὐτὸ ἐνδείξασθαι ἀμέμπτως καὶ ἀόκνως  
καὶ ἀκαταγνώστως καὶ εὐγνωμονεῖν τὸν ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ φόρον  
20 κατ' ἔτος κ[αὶ] τ[ὰς] διδομένας παρ' αὐτοῦ ἐξ ἔθους γεουχικὰς  
ὑπηρεσίας πάσας [καὶ] ἐπιζητούμενον αὐτὸν πρὸς ἐμὲ παρὰ τῆς  
ὑμῶν ὑπερφυείας διὰ τῶν αὐτῆ προσηκόντων ἐν οἰαδήποτε  
ἡμέρᾳ οἴασ[δ]ηποτοῦν ἔνεκεν προφάσεως τοῦτον παροίσω καὶ  
παραδώσω ἐ[ν] δημοσίῳ τόπῳ ἐκτὸς παντὸς τόπου προσφυγῆς  
25 καὶ λόγου ἔνθα αὐτὸν κ[αὶ] παρείληφα ἐν τῇ φυλακῇ τοῦ ἐνδόξου ὑμῶν  
οἴκου ἢ εἰ μὴ τοῦτο ποιήσω ὁμολογῶ οἴκοθεν [ὑπ]ὲρ αὐτοῦ πληρῶσαι  
τὰ ἐκφόρια τοῦ αὐτοῦ γεουχικοῦ πωμαρίου κινδύνῳ ἐμῷ καὶ τῆς  
πάσης μου ὑποστάσεως. κυρ(ία) ἢ ἐγγύη ἀπλ(ῆ) γραφ(εῖσα) καὶ ἐπερ(ωτηθεῖς)  
ὁμολόγησα.†  
(Second hand) †Ζαχαρίας υἱὸς τοῦ μακαρίου Ἀναστασίου ὁ προγεγραμμένος.  
30 στοιχεῖ μοι αὕτη ἢ ἐγγύη ὡς πρόκ(εῖται).

14. 1. ὀρμώμενον.

'In the fourteenth year of the reign of our most divine and pious master, our greatest benefactor, Flavius Mauricius, the new Tiberius, perpetual Augustus and Imperator; in the thirteenth year of the consulship of the same, our most pious master; the thirtieth of Hathyr, fourteenth indiction.

'To Flavius Apion, the all-honoured and most magnificent consular, landowner here also in the illustrious city of the Oxyrhynchites, through Menas, his servant, who is acting on his behalf and assuming for his master, the same all-honoured man, the conduct and responsibility of the transaction, from Zacharias, steward of the church of the Holy Resurrection, son of Anastasius of revered memory, coming from this same city of the Oxyrhynchites, whose signature follows in his own hand, greeting.

'I declare voluntarily and of my own free choice, under the sacred oath by the genius of the emperor, that I give surety and pledge to Your Excellency, through your representatives, that Aurelius Pambechius, son of Paul and Thecla, coming from the village of Athletes (?), the property of Your Excellency in the Oxyrhynchite nome, Your Excellency's registered fruitgrower, shall continually stay and abide on . . . estate-orchard and devote to it all endeavour for its cultivation and improvement without fault or evasion and without giving cause for complaint and shall return the tax due on it each year and perform all the estate

tasks usually presented by it. If he is required of me by Your Excellency through your representatives at any date for any reason whatsoever I will bring him forward and hand him over in a public place without recourse to any place of sanctuary or letter of safe-conduct, here, where I took charge of him, in the prison of your honoured household. Or if I do not do this, I declare that I shall pay in full from my own goods on his behalf the taxes of the same estate-orchard, at my own risk and that of all my property. This surety, of which there is a single copy, is valid, and in answer to the formal question I have given my assent. 'Zacharias, son of the blessed Anastasius, the above mentioned. This surety, as recorded above, is to my satisfaction.'

1-3. The numbers of the regnal and consular years are inconsistent, as often in papyri of the reign of Maurice. He became emperor in Aug. A.D. 582 and entered the fourteenth year of his reign in Aug. A.D. 595. The fourteenth indiction lasted from April A.D. 595 to April 596. In both of these 30th Hathyr represents 27th Nov. A.D. 595, it being a leap year in Egypt according to the Augustan calendar, but in the thirteenth consulship 30th Hathyr was 26th Nov. A.D. 596, for Maurice did not enter on his first consulship till Jan. A.D. 584; cf. the dating of 136 which allows Maurice no consulship. Τιβερῖον Μαυρικίου . . . ἔτους α' ; μετὰ τὴν ὑπατίαν τοῦ τῆς θέλας λήξεως γενομένου ἡμῶν δεσπότητος Τιβερῖου Κωνσταντίνου ἔτους ε' . . . ἐνδ(ικτίωνος) πρώτης. The *Chronicon Paschale* (PG 92, cols. 70-1028) describes A.D. 583 as ἀνύπατος. Comparable inconsistent dates appear in P. Amh. 150, PSI 60, P. Munich 13, and in 996, 1988, 2239.

4 Flavius Apion III : v. stemma at 1829.

7 Zacharias and the other people mentioned here, except for Apion and Menas, are unknown so far as I can discover.

8 The name of the church is new. For the phrase ἀγία ἀνάστασις used of the Easter festival cf. PSI 953, an account from the Apion estate, l. 56 τοῖς οδο(ω) ἐν τῇ φυλακ(ῆ) ἐν τῇ ἀγί(α) ἀναστάσει ὑπὲρ ἡμερῶν γ' i.e. '(wine) for those in the prison over the three days of the Easter festival'; 2480 84, P. Strassb. 46. 14 (as corrected in Hunt-Edgar, *Select Papyri* ii, No. 364).

14 Ἀθλίτου not known from elsewhere.

17 ἐν τῷ . . . . . αὐτῶν γεουχικῶ πωμαρίῳ : 135 has ἐν τῷ αὐτοῦ κτήματι in the same place, PSI 61. 62 ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ κτήματι.

18 ἐπ' αὐτὸ : 'display towards it', 'devote to it' ?

25 For φυλακῆ meaning the private prison of the Apion household cf. PSI 953. 37 εἰς χρεῖ(αν) τῶν ἐγκεκλειμ(ένων) [ἐν τῇ] φυλακ(ῆ) τοῦ ἐνδόξ(ου) οἴκ(ου) ἐν τῇ κυριακῇ τῆς ἀναστάσε(ως). v. E. P. Wegener to 2238 17. 135 should be translated as here.

29-30. These two lines are in Zacharias' own hand, cf. l. 10 ἐξῆς ὑπογράφων ἰδία χειρί.

## 2479. PETITION FROM A COLONUS

24 × 28 cms.

Sixth century.

This document is a petition from a runaway *colonus* to his patron, begging to be restored to his farm and to be excused the rent on the land which he has not worked during his absence. The first line of the preamble is written in a tall, upright and laterally compressed cursive, the second in a squarer cursive

of an older type and the main body of the text in a straggling sixth-century hand with a marked inclination to the right.

The papyrus is 24 cms. wide but the break across the middle, where at least one line is lost, makes the height uncertain. With the pieces close together it measures 28 cms.

The style of the document is unpolished and wordy. The petitioner's situation is stock and he appeals for pity in stock phrases, referring to his unhappy children, calling the Lord God to witness, offering prayers for the health of his master, and so on (*v. notes passim*). Nor is the text free from carelessness in the writing. Omissions are repaired by insertion above the line, but the extraordinary *εὐθενίας* for *ἀσθενείας* is left uncorrected. Thus the document presents the appearance of a rough draft. Its faults are shared by the petitions in P. Cair. Masp. i (67002-18) and in P. Lond. v, where the editors (*ibid.* p. 56) have found more circumstantial evidence for regarding them all as drafts.

The 'good benefactor and master' of the preamble is not addressed by name but there is evidence to suggest that he was one of the famous Apion family, cf. 2480 introd. The papyrus was found at Oxyrhynchus, where the family was the most powerful patron of *coloni*. In diplomatic and general vocabulary it closely resembles the group of petitions addressed to Flavius Marianus, a *dux* of the Thebaid sometime in the first half of the sixth century (P. Cair. Masp. i. 67002-18; *v. notes passim*). 130, where the relationship between the parties is the same, that is, patron and *colonus adscripticius*, tells us that Flavius Apion II was *dux* of the Thebaid. Lastly, Flavius Apion II was connected with, and probably administered, the land where the village of Kinea stood, though it belonged to the imperial household (1915 II, 19). All this makes it a likely supposition that the recipient was Flavius Apion II.

In the transcript I ignore diaeresis on iota. The underlined words are written above the line in which they stand.

τῷ ἐμῷ ἀγαθῷ εὐεργ(έτη) (καὶ) δεσπ(ότη) δέησις (καὶ) ἰκεσία  
 π(αρά) Πιηοῦτ[ο]ς ὑμετέρ(ου) δούλου ἀπὸ ἐποικ(ίου) Κινέας.  
 τὸ φιλόπτωχο[ν] καὶ φιλόχριστον τῆς ὑμετέρας πανευκλεοῦς δεσποτείας  
 παρὰ πᾶσαν τὴν γῆν ἐξελθὼν πολλοὺς ταύτης προσφεύγειν αὐτῇ παρεσκεύασεν  
 5 οἷτινες προσερχ[ό]μενοι τοῦ δικαίου καὶ πάσης ἐλεη[μοσύ]νης τυγχ[ά]νονσι  
 ]καὶ τω . ελε . [ π]ροσέρχομαι καταδακρύω[ν καὶ δι]δάσκων [κα]τὰ ἐμαντὸν  
 ὡς γεω]ργὸς ἐναπόγραφος τυγχάνω τῆς ὑμετέρας π[α]νευκλεοῦς δεσποτείας  
 καὶ ὡς ? πρ]ὸ τριῶν τούτων ἐνιαυτῶν ἐτελεύτησαν τὰ ἐ[μὰ] κτήνη καὶ ἀνέστην  
 ἀπὸ ἐμ]ῆς γεωργίας, ὡς εἴρηται, πρὸ τριῶν ἐνιαυτῶν καὶ ἔμεινα ἐπὶ ξένης.

10 καὶ ἐπὶ ?] τὸν αὐτὸν τριέτη χρόνον παραμένων ἐπὶ ξένης ὅπως εὔρω  
 ] . [ ] ἀνα[τ]ροφῆς καὶ ἀναγραφῆναι με μετὰ τῶν ἐμῶν τέκνων  
 ] . . . η . . . τοῦ κτήματος  
 ] . . .

παρακα]λῶ καὶ ἰκετεύω τὴν ὑμετέραν π[ανευκ]λη[ε]ῖ δεσποτείαν εἰ παρασταίη  
 15 αὐτῇ] προστάξει εἰσελθεῖν με ἐν τῷ κτήματι καὶ μὴ ἀπαι[τ]ηθῆναι με  
 ] . . . ης . ἔσπειρα ὅπως ἐφεξῆς δυνηθῶ ἐργ[ά]σασθαι  
 ἐν τῷ] αὐτῷ κτήματι καὶ ἀναθρέψαι τὰ ἐμὰ ἄθλια τέκνα . καὶ ἀναπέμψω  
 τῷ δεσπότη Χριστῷ τὰς εὐχὰς μου ὑπὲρ τῆς ζωῆς τῆς ὑμετέρας πανευκλεοῦς  
 δεσποτείας . ἀδυνάτως γὰρ ἔχω, δέσποτα, συντελέσαι ὑπὲρ οὐ  
 20 οὐ σπείρω . εἰσὶν γὰρ οἱ σπείραντες καὶ δυνάμενοι συντελέσαι .  
 καὶ τοῦτο δὲ διδάσκω ὡς ὅτι ἐλθὼν ἐν τῷ κτήματι ὁ προνοητῆς  
 διήρπαξεν πάντα τὰ εὐτελῆ μου πράγματα χάριν τῆς τοιαύτης  
 αἰτίας . καὶ παρακαλῶ τοῦ ὑμετέρου ἐλέους τυχεῖν . μάρτυρα γὰρ  
 ἐπικαλοῦμαι τὸν δεσπότην θεὸν ὡς ὅτι τὸ κλύσαι ἦτοι τὸ ξηρὸν  
 25 ψῶμιν οὐκ ἔχω φαγεῖν μετὰ τῶν ἐμῶν τέκνων προκειμένης  
 τ[αὐ]τῆς [ἐνε]κα τῆς εὐθενίας (sic) . καὶ τούτου χάριν κατέφυγα αὐτῇ  
 ὅπ[ω]ς ἐναριθμηθῆναι με μετὰ πάντων τῶν εὐεργετηθέντων  
 παρὰ αὐτῆς, πανευκλεέστ(ατε) εὐέργετα, δέσποτα, κύριε .

25. 1. ψωμίον.

'To my good benefactor and lord, petition and supplication from Pieous your slave from the village of Kinea.

'Your all-glorious lordship's love of the poor and of Christ, going out over all the land, has caused many of its people to have recourse to your lordship and they come forward and receive justice and all pity. (Therefore ? . . .) I too come forward weeping and saying of myself that I am your all-glorious lordship's registered farmer and that these three years ago my beasts died and I ran away from my farm, as I have said, three years ago, and stayed away from home. And having remained away from home for that same space of three years that I might find . . . food ? and to be registered along with my children . . . of the farm . . .

'I beg and supplicate your all-glorious [lordship, if it please your lordship,] to give orders that I am to return to the farm and not to be asked for. . . . I sowed that I might labour on the same farm and bring up my unhappy children. And I shall send up to the Lord Christ my prayers for the life of your all-glorious lordship. For I cannot, lord, pay on what I do not sow. Those who sow are the ones that can pay. And this too I say: that the steward came on the farm and plundered all my poor possessions for this cause. And I beg to receive your pity. For I call the Lord God to witness that, inundation or drought,

I have not a morsel to eat, nor my children, because of this helplessness (?) that I have mentioned. And on this account I have recourse to your lordship, so that I may be counted among those benefited by your lordship, most all-glorious benefactor, lord, master.'

- 2 *ὑμετέρ(ου) δούλου*: Pieous was not, of course, a slave; this is part of the diplomatic vocabulary of the petition, cf. P. Cair. Masp. 67002. 2, 67003. v. 67004. 2, etc.  
Κινέα: v. 1915 11, 19.
- 6 These petitions often begin with a reference to the widely-felt kindness of the recipient and continue with a phrase like *καὶ τοῦτο αὐτὸ ἀκριβῶς ἐπιστάμενος (προσέρχομαι κτλ.)*, cf. P. Cair. Masp. 67003. 14, 67005. 7, 67008. 8 etc. Something of the same sort is needed here.  
*διδάσκων κατὰ ἐμαυτὸν . . .*: in P. Cair. Masp. usually *διδάσκων τὸ κατ' ἐμὲ πρᾶγμα. διδάσκω . . . ὡς . . .*: 67002. 9. ii. 1, 67003. 14 f., etc., cf. l. 21.
- 9 *ἐπὶ ξένης*: meaning outside his own village, cf. P. Lond. v. 1660. 27 *κἂν ὁμῶν ὄντων ἐν κώμῃ κἂν ἐπὶ ξένης*. v. Aristide Calderini, *οἱ ἐπὶ ξένης*, *JEA* xl, pp. 19-22.
- 11 If *ἀναγραφῆναι* means to be put on a list of runaway *coloni* (cf. 253 10 *ἀξιώ ἀναγράφεσθαι τοῦτον ἐν τοῖς ἀνακεχω(ρηκόσι)*, cf. 2055 for such a list), the construction has changed after *καὶ* from the final *ἔπος* + subj. to an almost consecutive *ἔπος* + inf., cf. ll. 27. Alternatively there may be a verb of asking in the following lacuna, and *ἀναγραφῆναι* means 'to be re-registered', but this makes *καὶ* difficult unless we postulate a second infinitive, i.e. 'and having stayed away for the same space of three years, that I might find food for my children, [I beg] both that I and my children may be registered (under your patronage as *coloni*), [and that . . .]'  
*τὰς τῶν τέκνων ἢ ἀνα[τ]ροφᾶς?*  
*τέκνων*: cf. ll. 17 and 25. A stock device for arousing pity, cf. P. Cair. Masp. 67002. 12, 67004. 14, 67006. 4, etc. 67002. 19 *ὁ ἄθλιος ἔως νῦν ἐπὶ ξένης σὺν τέκνοις*.
- 13 ] . . .: this might possibly be the end of l. 14 but I cannot identify the letters.
- 14 Not *παρακαλῶ καθικετεύων*, v. P. Lond. v. 1677. 39.  
*εἰ παρασταῆ ] ] προστάξει*: cf. P. Cair. Masp. 67002. iii. 22, 67003. 25, 67005. 26 etc. This writer nowhere divides a word at the end of a line, so a short word is required at the beginning of l. 15. P. Cair. Masp. 67007. 17 has *παρ[αστα]ῆ ἡμῶν*. Our writer would substitute *αὐτῆ* referring to *ἡ ὑμετέρα πανευκλεῆς δεσποτεία*, cf. ll. 4, 26, 28.
- 19 *ἀδυνάτως κτλ.*: this, I suppose, refers to what happened three years ago since he has not yet been back to his farm (v. l. 15 *προστάξει εἰσελθεῖν με ἐν τῷ κτήματι*). Apparently he was asked to pay rents on land that was impossible to cultivate. This and the death of his livestock (l. 8) prevented him paying his assessed rent and the steward of the estate treated him so roughly that he was forced to flee.
- 22 *τὰ εὐτελῆ μου πράγματα*: the *colonus adscripticius* could own personal property over which his patron had no legal power, but this property was called *peculium*, like that of a slave, which did belong to his master. v. Roth Clausing, *The Roman Colonate*, p. 20; Cod. Theodos. v. 19. 10; Cod. Iustin. xi. 48. 19, xi. 48. 23. 5; cf. P. Lond. v. 1676. 6 f. *τὰ ἐλάχιστά μου πράγματα*.
- 24 *τὸ κλύσαι ἦτοι τὸ ξηρὸν*: the reading may be wrong but I can think of nothing better. *κλ* and *σ* are clear. I take *τὸ ξηρὸν* adverbially as 'in drought' or 'in the dry season' and *τὸ κλύσαι* antithetically as 'in flood' or 'during the inundation'. An adjective meaning 'damp' and agreeing with *ψώμῳ* might be better, if one could be found. E. G. Turner suggests that *κλύσαι* means 'rinse my mouth' and *φαγεῖν* equals *φαγεῖν ἢ πιεῖν*, i.e., he complains 'I have no wine to drink, no dry food to eat'.
- 26 *εὐθενίας*: I can only think that this is a slip for *δοθενείας*. *εὐθενία* as 'abundance' or 'the corn supply' has no place here, nor does it seem likely to have been mentioned before.

## 2480. ACCOUNT FOR THE ISSUE OF WINE

Cols. ii-vi 172.5 cm. × 31.5 cm.

Probably A.D. 565-6.

The main body of this account consists of the last five kollemata of a papyrus roll in good state of preservation. The writing is an upright cursive documentary hand of medium size, regular and clear, but with many abbreviations and ligatures. It is almost identical with that of P. Princeton ii. 96. The account sets out the recipients of disbursements of wine of two kinds, *οἶνος* and *ὄξος*, 'sour' wine, the latter being booked in a separate column to the right of entries of the former. The issues began in a month preceding Phaophi and ran through the Egyptian year to Epeiph, there being no issues in Choiak and Tybi. The year is stated as the 14th indiction.

From the method of book-keeping as well as the mention of 'the honourable house', familiar personal and place-names, above all from the name of Apion in l. 37, there is no doubt that this wine account comes from the records of the Apion family (on which see E. R. Hardy, *The Large Estates of Byzantine Egypt*, with the additional evidence of 2195-7, 2243-4 and 2478-9). It bears a particularly close resemblance to PSI viii. 953-6, and especially to 953 and 956 which were written by a single hand (see ll. 10, 18, 25, 34, 39, 43, 84 notes). Some of the beneficiaries also figure in P. Princeton ii. 96 (cf. ll. 128-9 and P. Princeton ll. 39, 41).

On the dating of the text T. C. Skeat makes the following contribution: 'The close similarity between 2480 and PSI 953-6 is striking. PSI 953 is dated by Hardy, *Large Estates*, p. 83, n. 1 to A.D. 537-8 because this is, he says, the only occasion when Apion was in Constantinople (PSI 953. 72-3). But this does not fit the date given for Easter in PSI 953. 56, which gives the entry *τοῖς οὖσιν ἐν τῇ φυλακῇ ἐν τῇ ἀγία ἀναστάσει ὑπὲρ ἡμερῶν γ Φαρμουθι ε' καὶ ζ καὶ η*. From this entry it may be inferred that Easter Sunday fell on either

Pharmouthi 6 = 1 April

Pharmouthi 7 = 2 April

or Pharmouthi 8 = 3 April.

The dates of Easter at this period are given in, e.g., G. Grumel, *Traité d'études byzantines*: i, *Chronologie*, 1958, pp. 244-5. Since PSI 953 is an account for the 1st indiction, the following sixth-century dates are possible, with dates of Easter added against each:

507-8 6 April 508

522-3 16 April 523

537-8 4 April 538



552-3	20 April 553
567-8	1 April 568
582-3	18 April 583
597-8	30 March 598.

From this it appears that the only possible date for PSI 953 is 567-8, and this is completely confirmed by the fact that the Serenus, *οἰνοχειριστής*, who presents the account, also occurs in the receipts PSI 191-3, which are securely dated to 566.

The account in PSI 953 is for the 1st indiction. 2480, which so closely resembles it, and is for the 14th indiction, probably therefore dates from 565-6. The account perhaps covered the whole of the 14th indiction, which at this period began at Oxyrhynchus in Mesore. The reference to Easter in 2480 84 and 96 is undated, and its position in the account does not enable a date to be assigned at all closely. The entry immediately following l. 96 is dated Pharmouthi 14 = 9 April. In 566 Easter day was 28 March. But the dating to 565-6 receives considerable support from P. Princeton ii. 96, which includes some of the same persons as 2480, and which was independently dated by Kase to 551-2 or 566-7.

The Apion of this text will therefore be Apion II, who was *consul ordinarius* in 539 (Degrassi, *Fasti consulari*, p. 100), and who died between 577 and 579. Up to now only one *femina consularis* was known in the family, Flauia Praeicta, wife of Strategius II (2196 1-2; 2243 (a) 86). 2480 adds a second (ll. 18-19), who is presumably Kyra, wife of Apion II.

The recipients of wine in the main account are *buccellarii*, workers on the estate, religious communities etc. Some of the issues are clearly made as pay for some sort of service rendered to the estate, e.g. the *annona* which the *buccellarii* and *neoteroi* received. At other times the grant was given to workers who made something for the estate, such as the smiths, carpenters, caulkers who were working on the great 'caris' of the estate. Other deliveries were made under the description of salary (in kind) paid to several estate officials. Sometimes the delivery represents a customary gratuity; in this class are the *συνήθειαι*, the *εορτικά*, or gifts on the occasion of feasts, and the *καλανδικά*, or New Year's allowances. Sometimes the delivery was a special gift on the occasion of some particular event, e.g., that which a *praeses* received when he took office. It may be noted that wine was delivered to the prisoners of the estate prison at Easter. Sometimes the delivery was made as a charitable gift to private people, or as a pious donation to religious communities, but in the latter case they are always customary gifts and always in sour wine. Finally, there are a number of entries in which the wine was destined for drink for the cavalry

horses of the Blue Party who took part in the spectacles of the circus.

The butler's totals in ll. 121-5 (19,063½ + 223 = 19,286½ *diploa*) are set against total receipts from the estate of 19,321 *diploa*. In the five preceding columns the totals reach only 898½ + 229 = 1127½ *diploa*. Ll. 1-125 can then constitute only a portion of the account of the 14th indiction. It is likely that another portion was formed by ll. 127-309, contained on three poorly preserved sheets and a number of fragments. The handwriting, if not identical, is in the same style, and the coincidences in content are striking (e.g. ll. 241-2, the birthday of the mistress), while it too is dated in the 14th indiction. In contrast to the main account which reflects only the public life of the estate, the beneficiaries in these fragments are in the private service of the Apion household: cooks, players of the *phantouris*, managers, messengers, etc. There are frequently several members of the same family among their number.

Col. i. Ends of lines only

Col. ii

Μ]ηνᾶ ναύτ(η) ἀπὸ Θαλαμίου λόγῳ ἀναλώμ(ατος) τῶν ἀπὸ Μεσορῆ ἔως  
ἐπαγομ(ένων) ἰδ ἰνδ(ικτίονος) οὔν(ου) δι(πλᾶ) δ  
Μακαρίῳ ἡλοκόπ(ω) ἀπὸ Μούχεως ἐργαζομ(ένω) εἰς τὰς λεπίδας τῆς γεουχι-  
κ(ῆς) [κα]ρίδος Θῶθ ε οὔν(ου) δι(πλοῦν) α  
τοῖς κζ βουκκελλαρ(ίοις) τῆς Κυνῶν καὶ Θεοδώρῳ μειζοτέρ(ω) ὀνόμ(ασι) [κη  
εἰς ἀ]ρνῶν(ας) κθ ἔλθ(οῦσιν)  
ἐνταῦθα γεουχικ(ῆς) χρεί(ας) ἔνεκ(α) λόγῳ ἀναλώμ(ατος) Θῶθ ιβ ἰνδ(ικ-  
τίονος) ἰδ οὔν(ου) δι(πλᾶ) ζδ'  
5 Πέτρῳ πολλαβλέ(ποντι) ἀπὸ συμμάχ(ων) λόγῳ εὐσεβ(είας) κατὰ τὸ ἔθος καὶ  
ἐπὶ τῆς ἰδ ἰνδ(ικτίονος) οὔν(ου) δι(πλᾶ) λς  
τοῖς κζ βουκκελλαρ(ίοις) τῆς Κυνῶν καὶ τῷ μειζοτέρ(ω) ὀνόμ(ασι) κη εἰς  
ἀννῶν(ας) κθ ἔλθ(οῦσιν) ἐνταῦθα  
γεουχικ(ῆς) χρεί(ας) ἔν[ε]κ(α) λόγῳ ἀναλώμ(ατος) Θῶθ θ ἰνδ(ικτίονος) ἰδ  
οὔν(ου) δι(πλᾶ) ζδ'  
τοῖς η βουκκελλαρ(ίοις) εἰς τὴν Κυνῶν ἐπὶ τῷ καταστῆσ(αι) τὸ πρόσσωπον  
λόγ(ω) ἀναλώμ(ατος)  
ὑπὲρ ἡμερ(ῶν) [β] Θῶθ ις καὶ ιζ ἰνδ(ικτίονος) ἰδ οὔν(ου) δι(πλᾶ) δ  
10 εἰς βροχ(ῆν) τῶν ἵππων [το]ῦ ἵππικοῦ μέρ(ους) Βενέτων ἐν τῇ θεᾷ τῶν  
Στεφανίων δι(πλοῦν) α καὶ  
ἐν τῇ θεᾷ τῇ κ τοῦ αὐτοῦ Θῶθ μην(ός) δι(πλοῦν) α, (γίνονται)  
οὔν(ου) δι(πλᾶ) β

Ἡραϊδι γαμ(ετῆ) Ἄνουπ. [ . ]ε λόγῳ εὐσεβ(είας) καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς ιδ [ἰνδ(ικτίονος)]  
οἴν(ου) δι(πλᾶ) η  
τοῖς κζ βουκελλαρ(ίους) τῆς Κυνῶν καὶ Θεοδ[ώ]ρω μειζοτέρ(ω) ὀν(όμασι) κη  
εἰς ἀννών(ας) κθ ἐλθ(οῦσαν)  
ἐνταῦθα γεουχικ(ῆς) χρεί(ας) ἔνεκ(α) λ[ό]γ(ω) ἀναλώμ(ατος) Θῶθ ι [ἰνδ(ικ-  
τίονος)] ιδ οἴν(ου) δι(πλᾶ) ζδ'  
15 Μηνᾶ ναυπηγ(ήτη) ἀπὸ Θαλαμᾶου ἐργαζομ(ένω) εἰς τὴν γεουχικ(ήν) νέαν  
καρίδα λόγ(ω) ἀναλώμ(ατος) τοῦ Θῶθ μην(ός) οἴν(ου) δι(πλᾶ) δ  
τοῖς κδ νεωτέρ(οις) τῆς Κυνῶν καὶ Θεοδώρῳ μειζοτέρ(ω) ὀν(όμασι) κη εἰς  
ἀννών(ας) κθ ἐλθοῦσι(ν)  
ἐνταῦθα γεουχικ(ῆς) χρεί(ας) ἔνεκ(α) λόγ(ω) ἀναλώμ(ατος) Θῶθ ι ἰνδ(ικ-  
τίονος) ιδ οἴν(ου) δι(πλᾶ) ζδ'  
τοῖς πρωτοδημ(όταις) ἐν τοῖς αἰσίοις γε[νε]θ(ί)οις τῆς δεσποίνης) ἡμῶν τῆς  
ὑπερφυεστάτης  
ὑπατίσ(ης) λόγ(ω) φιλοτιμ(ίας) Μεσορῆ κζ ἰνδ(ικτίονος) ιγ ἀπὸ ρ[ύ]σεως  
ιδ (?) ἰνδ(ικτίονος) οἴν(ου) δι(πλᾶ) κ  
20 Ἀπ[ο]λλῶ χορτοπαρ(α)λήμπτ(η) καὶ Παπνουθίω ἐπικειμ(ένω) ἀπερχομ(ένους)  
ἐν Πτώχει τῆ  
κώμη προσαγορασθ(έντος) χορτοσπέρμου τῆς γεουχικ(ῆς) αὐτουργί(ας)  
λόγ(ω) ἀναλώμ(ατος) οἴν(ου) δι(πλᾶ) ζ  
εἰς βροχ(ήν) τῶν ἵππων τοῦ ἵππικοῦ ἐν τῆ θέα Θῶθ θ . . . . . οἴν(ου) δι(πλᾶ)  
β καὶ  
ἐν τῆ θέα τοῦ Στεφανίωνος τοῦ αὐτ(οῦ) μην(ός) οἴν(ου) δι(πλᾶ) β, (γι-  
νονται) οἴν(ου) δι(πλᾶ) δ  
τοῖς χαλκεῦσ(ι) τῶν κτημ(άτων) σ[ . . . ]ιν ἐνταῦθα ἐργαζομ(ένους) εἰς τὴν  
γεουχι[κ](ήν) μεγάλην καρίδα  
25 λόγ(ω) ἀναλώμ(ατος) ἐν τῆ ἐορτῆ τοῦ Θῶθ μην(ός) ιδ ἰνδ(ικτίονος)  
οἴν(ου) δι(πλᾶ) β  
Φ[αῶφ]ι Μηνᾶ ναυπηγ(ήτη) ἀπὸ Θαλαμᾶου ἐργαζομ(ένω) εἰς τὴν γεουχικ(ήν) μεγά-  
λ(ην) καρίδα λόγ(ω) ἀναλώμ(ατος) ὑπὲρ ἄλλ(ου)  
μην(ός) α τῶν ἀπὸ μην(ός) Φαῶφι ε ἕως Ἀθῦρ ε ἰνδ(ικτίονος) ιδ  
οἴν(ου) δι(πλᾶ) δ

1. επαγομ/ Pap. The plural of abbreviated words is frequently indicated by duplica-  
tion of the last consonant. These forms will be neglected here, as will diaeresis over ι and υ.  
21. 1. προσαγορασθ(έντος).

Col. iii

τοῖς χαλκεῦσι(ν) ποιήσασι(ν) τὰ κλιδιά τοῦ ἀγωγοῦ τοῦ στάβλ(ου) τῶν ἵππων  
τοῦ ἵππικ(οῦ) μέρ(ους) Βενέτων οἴν(ου) δι(πλᾶ) δ  
Θεοδώρῳ τριβούν(ω) καὶ τοῖς ι βουκελλαρ(ίους) ἀπερχομ(ένους) εἰς τὴν Σέφθα  
λόγ(ω) ἀναλώμ(ατος) Φαῶφι κ οἴν(ου) δι(πλᾶ) γ  
30 τοῖς γ νεωτέρ(οις) ἀπερχομ(ένους) εἰς τὴν Ἡρακλέους λόγ(ω) ἀναλώμ(ατος)  
ὑπὲρ ἡμερῶν β Φαῶφι ιη ἰνδ(ικτίονος) ιδ οἴν(ου) δι(πλᾶ) γ  
εἰς τὸ κοινόβ(ιον) ἀββα Ἱερημίου ἐν Θηβαῖδι λόγ(ω) εὐσεβ(είας) κατὰ τὸ ἔθος  
καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς ιδ ἰνδ(ικτίονος) ἀπὸ ὄξους δι(πλᾶ) σ ἀφ' ὧν  
ἐν ἀπαργυρισμ(οῖς) ὄξους δι(πλᾶ) ρκδ, (γίνονται) ὄξ(ους) δι(πλᾶ) σσ  
τοῖς ναυπηγ(ήτ(αι)ς) καὶ καλαφάτ(αι)ς καὶ τεκτόσ(ι)ν καὶ ἄλλ(οι)ς λόγ(ω) φιλο-  
τιμ(ίας) ἐν τῆ ἡμέρᾳ ἐν ἣ ἐβλήθ(η) ἡ μεγάλη(η)  
καρὶς εἰς τὸν ποταμ(όν) Φαῶφι ι [ἰνδ(ικτίονος)] ιδ καὶ Ἰούστῳ ναύτ(η)  
ἐν τῆ αὐ(τῆ) ἡμέρᾳ ἐν β πιττακ(ίους) οἴν(ου) δι(πλᾶ) ιγ  
35 Ἀθῦρ τοῖς κδ βουκελλαρ(ίους) σὺν τῷ τριβούν(ω) ἀπ[ε]ρχομ(ένους) εἰς τὴν  
Σέφθα πρὸς ἐξάνυσιν τῶν δημοσί(ων) λόγ(ω) ἀναλώμ(ατος)  
οἴν(ου) δι(πλᾶ) ε  
Μηνᾶ ἀπὸ Θαλαμᾶου ἐργαζομ(ένω) εἰς τὴν νέαν [καρ]ίδα λόγ(ω) ἀναλώμ(ατος)  
Ἀθῦρ ε ἰνδ(ικτίονος) ιδ οἴν(ου) δι(πλᾶ) β  
τοῖς ἐξῆς ἐγ[γ]εγραμμ(ένους) ἐν τοῖς αἰσίοις βρωμμαλ(ίους) τ[οῦ] δεσπότου  
ἡμῶν τοῦ ὑπερφυεστ(άτου) Ἀπίωνος Ἀθῦρ κη ἰνδ(ικτίονος) ιδ  
οἴν(ου) δι(πλᾶ) λγ  
οὕτως·  
τοῖς βουκελλαρ(ίους) δι(πλᾶ) ιβ, τοῖς σ[πα]δαρ(ίους) δι(πλᾶ) η, τοῖς  
Γόθθ(οις) δι(πλᾶ) δ,  
40 τοῖς μαγε[ί]ρ(οις) δι(πλᾶ) ε, τοῖς πανδουρ(ισταῖς) δι(πλᾶ) β, τοῖς στρώκ-  
τορ(σι) δι(πλοῦν) α, τὰ προκ(είμ(εν)α  
τοῖς ἐξῆς ἐγγεγραμμ(ένους) ὑπὲρ καλανδικ(ῶν) ιδ ἰνδ(ικτίονος)  
οἴν(ου) δι(πλᾶ) ιβ  
οὕτως·  
τοῖς μίμ(οις) τῶν β ἐργαστηρ(ίων) δι(πλᾶ) η, τοῖς καλοπέκτ(αι)ς δ, τὰ  
προκ(είμ(εν)α  
εἰς τὸ ξενοδοχ(εῖον) ἀββα Ἀρίωνος λόγ(ω) εὐσεβ(είας) κατ[ὰ τὸ] ἔθ(ος) καὶ ἐπὶ  
τῆς ιδ ἰνδ(ικτίονος) ὄξ(ους) δι(πλᾶ) π

45 τοῖς τεκτόσιν μηχανουργοῖς τῆς πόλιος ὑπὲρ συνθηθειῶν κατὰ τὸ ἔθος  
καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς ἰδ(ικτίονος) οἴν(ου) δι(πλά) η  
εἰς τὸ κοινόβιον ἀββᾶ Ἑρμῆ λόγῳ εὐσεβείας κατὰ [τὸ] ἔθος καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς  
ἰδ(ικτίονος) ὄξ(ους) δι(πλά) ιγ  
Μεχείρ τοῖς σταβλίταις Τακόνα ἐλθοῦσιν ἐνταῦθα μετὰ τοῦ ἐνδοξοτάτου  
ἀντιγεούχου ἕνεκα τῆς ἐνορίας λόγῳ ἀναλώματος  
Μεχείρ κη ἰδ(ικτίονος) ἰδ οἴν(ου) δι(πλά) β  
τοῖς θ βουκκελλαροῖς ἐλθοῦσιν ἐνταῦθα λόγῳ ἀναλώματος Μεχείρ κη  
ἰδ(ικτίονος) ἰδ οἴν(ου) δι(πλά) β δ'  
50 τοῖς λ ἀπὸ Κρομιδιωτῶν ἐλθοῦσιν ἐνταῦθα ἔξ[ν]εκ(α) τῆς ἐνορίας λόγῳ  
ἀναλώματος Μεχείρ κθ ἰδ(ικτίονος) ἰδ ὑ(πέρ) ξε(στῶν) λ  
οἴν(ου) δι(πλά) ε  
τοῖς αὐτοῖς λ Κρομιδιωτῶν ἐλθοῦσιν ἐνταῦθα μετὰ τ(οῦ) ἐνδοξοτάτου  
ἀντιγεούχου λόγῳ ἀναλώματος Μεχείρ κθ ὑ(πέρ) ξε(στῶν) λ  
οἴν(ου) δι(πλά) ε  
Φαμ(ενώ)θ τοῖς λ Κρομιδιωτῶν ἐλθοῦσιν ἐνταῦθα μετὰ τ(οῦ) ἐνδοξοτάτου ἀντι-  
γεούχου λόγῳ ἀναλώματος Φαμ(ενώ)θ ὑ(πέρ) ξε(στῶν) λ  
οἴν(ου) δι(πλά) ε

50 and elsewhere. χ Pap. (= ὑπέρ).

## Col. iv

τοῖς λ Κρομιδιωτῶν ἐλθοῦσιν ἐνταῦθα μετὰ τοῦ ἐνδοξοτάτου ἀντιγ[εού]-  
χ(ου) ἕνεκα τῆς ἐνορίας  
λόγῳ ἀναλώματος ὑπὲρ ἡμερῶν β Φαμ(ενώ)θ θ καὶ ι ἰδ(ικτίονος) ἰδ  
ὑ(πέρ) ξε(στῶν) ξ οἴν(ου) δι(πλά) ι  
55 τοῖς βουκκελλαροῖς ἐλθοῦσιν ἐνταῦθα μετὰ τοῦ ἐνδοξοτάτου ἀντι-  
γεούχου ἕνεκα τῆς ἐνορίας  
λόγῳ ἀναλώματος Φαμ(ενώ)θ κ ἰδ(ικτίονος) ἰδ  
οἴν(ου) δι(πλοῦν) (ἡμισυ)  
τοῖς λ Κρομιδιωτῶν ἐλθοῦσιν ἐνταῦθα μετὰ τοῦ ἐνδοξοτάτου ἀντιγεούχου  
ἕνεκα τῆς ἐνορίας  
λόγῳ ἀναλώματος Φαμ(ενώ)θ ε καὶ ζ ἰδ(ικτίονος) ἰδ ἡμερῶν β ὑ(πέρ)  
ξε(στῶν) ξ οἴν(ου) δι(πλά) ι  
τοῖς λ Κρομιδιωτῶν ἐλθοῦσιν ἐνταῦθα μετὰ τοῦ ἐνδοξοτάτου ἀντιγεούχου  
ἕνεκα τῆς ἐνορίας

60 λόγῳ ἀναλώματος Φαμ(ενώ)θ δ ἰδ(ικτίονος) ἰδ ὑ(πέρ) ξε(στῶν) λ  
οἴν(ου) δι(πλά) ε  
Φαρμοῦθι τῷ εὐλαβεσ(άτω) Ἀφφουᾶν ἀεὶ διακόν(ω) λόγῳ ὀψωνίου ἰδ(ικτίονος)  
οἴν(ου) δι(πλά) ρπ  
τῷ μεγαλοπρε(πεστάτω) ἄρχοντι Θωμᾶ λόγῳ φιλοτιμίας ἐν τῇ εἰσόδῳ  
αὐ(τοῦ) Φαρμοῦθι ε οἴν(ου) δι(πλά) ρ  
τῷ ἐλλογμ(ωτάτω) Ἰωάννη Ἰέρακος σχολ(αστικῶ) λόγῳ ὀψωνίου ἰδ(ικ-  
τίονος) οἴν(ου) δι(πλά) οε  
τοῖς ιη βουκκελλαροῖς τῆς Ἡρακλέους ἐλθοῦσιν ἐνταῦθα ἕνεκα τῆς θέας  
τῆς Κράστης  
65 λόγῳ ἀναλώματος Φαρμοῦθι ιε ἰδ(ικτίονος) ἰδ οἴν(ου) δι(πλά) δ (ἡμισυ)  
τοῖς ιθ βουκκελλαροῖς τῆς Κόμα σὺν τῷ τριβούν(ω) ἐλθοῦσιν ἐνταῦθα  
ἕνεκα τῆς θέας  
τῆς Κράστης λόγῳ ἀναλώματος Φαρμοῦθι ις ἰδ(ικτίονος) ἰδ  
οἴν(ου) δι(πλά) δ (ἡμισυ) δ'  
τοῖς λε βουκκελλαροῖς τῆς Κυνῶν σὺν τῷ μεζοτέρ(ω) ἐλθοῦσιν ἐνταῦθα  
ἕνεκα τῆς  
θέας τῆς Κράστης Φαρμοῦθι ις ἰδ(ικτίονος) ἰδ  
οἴν(ου) δι(πλά) η (ἡμισυ) δ'  
70 τοῖς ιη νεωτέρ(οις) τῆς Ἡρακλέους ἐλθοῦσιν ἐνταῦθα ἕνεκα τῆς θέας τῆς  
Κράστης  
λόγῳ ἀναλώματος Φαρμοῦθι ις ἰδ(ικτίονος) ἰδ  
οἴν(ου) δι(πλά) δ (ἡμισυ)  
τοῖς ιθ βουκκελλαροῖς τῆς Κόμα ἐλθοῦσιν ἐνταῦθα ἕνεκα τῆς θέας τῆς  
Κρά(σ)της  
λόγῳ ἀναλώματος Φαρμοῦθι ις ἰδ(ικτίονος) ἰδ  
οἴν(ου) δι(πλά) δ (ἡμισυ) δ'  
τοῖς ιη βουκκελλαροῖς τῆς Ἡρακλέους ἐλθοῦσιν ἐνταῦθα ἕνεκα τῆς  
αὐ(τῆς) θέας οἴν(ου) δι(πλά) δ (ἡμισυ)  
75 τοῖς λε βουκκελλαροῖς τῆς Κυνῶν ἐλθοῦσιν ἐνταῦθα ἕνεκα τῆς αὐ(τῆς)  
θέας Φα[ρμοῦθι] ις οἴν(ου) δι(πλά) η (ἡμισυ) δ'  
τοῖς ιθ βουκκελλαροῖς τῆς Κόμα ἐλθοῦσιν ἐνταῦθα ἕνεκα τῆς αὐ(τῆς)  
θέας Φαρμοῦθι [ιη καὶ]  
ιθ καὶ κ ἡμερῶν γ ἰδ(ικτίονος) ἰδ οἴν(ου) δι(πλά) ἰδ δ'  
63. I. ἐλλογμ(ωτάτω).

Col. v

τοῖς ιη βουκκελλαρ(ίοις) τῆς Ἡρακλέους ἐλθ(οῦσιν) ἐνταῦθα ἔνεκ(α) τῆς  
 αὐ(τῆς) θέας Φαρμουῦθι ιη  
 καὶ ιθ καὶ κ ἡμερῶν γ ἰνδ(ικτίονος) ιδ οῦν(ου) δι(πλᾶ) ιγ (ἡμισυ)  
 80 τοῖς λε βουκκελλαρ(ίοις) τῆς Κυνώων ἐλθ(οῦσιν) ἐνταῦθα(α) ἔνεκ(α) τῆς αὐ(τῆς)  
 θέας Φαρμουῦθι ιη καὶ ιθ καὶ κ ἡμερ(ῶν) γ οῦν(ου) δι(πλᾶ) κςδ'  
 εἰς βροχ(ῆν) τῶν ἵππων τοῦ ἵππικ(οῦ) ἐν τῇ θέα τῆς Κράστης Φαρμουῦθι ιη  
 ἰνδ(ικτίονος) ιδ οῦν(ου) δι(πλᾶ) γ  
 τοῖς ἡνιόχ(οις) καὶ φιλιπ(ιανοῖς) τοῦ μέρ(ους) τῶν Βενέτων λόγ(ω) ἀναλώμ(α-  
 τος) ἐν τῇ θέα τῆς Κράστης οῦν(ου) δι(πλᾶ) ς  
 εἰς βροχ(ῆν) τῶν ἵππων τοῦ ἵππικ(οῦ) μέρ(ους) Βενέτων ἐν τῇ θέα τῆς  
 Κράστης Φαρμουῦθι κ οῦν(ου) δι(πλοῦν) α  
 εἰς χρεῖ(αν) τοῖς ἐγκεκλισμέ(νοις) ἐν τῇ φυλακῇ τοῦ ἐνδόξ(ου) οἴκου ἐν τῇ  
 ἀγί(α) Ἀναστάσι ὄξ(ους) δι(πλᾶ) β  
 85 τοῖς λ Κρομιδιώτ(αις) ἐλθ(οῦσιν) ἐνταῦθα ἔνεκ(α) τῆς θέας τῆς Κράστης  
 λόγ(ω) ἀναλώμ(ατος) ὑ(πέρ) ἡμερ(ῶν) β  
 Φαρμουῦθι ιθ καὶ κ ἰνδ(ικτίονος) ιδ οῦν(ου) δι(πλᾶ) ι  
 τοῖς ἄλλ(οις) η βουκκελλαρ(ίοις) τῆς Ἡρακλέους ἐλθ(οῦσιν) ἐνταῦθα ἔνεκ(α)  
 τῆς θέας τῆς Κράστης  
 λόγ(ω) ἀναλώμ(ατος) Φαρμουῦθι ιη ἰνδ(ικτίονος) ιδ οῦν(ου) δι(πλᾶ) β  
 τοῖς αὐ(τοῖς) η βουκκελλαρ(ίοις) ὑ(πέρ) Φαρμουῦθι ιθ καὶ κ ἡμερ(ῶν) β  
 οῦν(ου) δι(πλᾶ) δ  
 90 εἰς βροχ(ῆν) τῶν ἵππων τοῦ ἵππικ(οῦ) μέρ(ους) Βενέτων ἐν τῇ θέα τῆς Κράστης  
 ὁμοί(ως) Φαρμουῦθι κ οῦν(ου) δι(πλᾶ) β  
 τοῖς ἄλλ(οις) ς Κρομιδιώτ(αις) ἐλθ(οῦσιν) ἐνταῦθα ἔνεκ(α) τῆς Κράστης λόγ(ω)  
 ἀναλώμ(ατος) Φαρμουῦθι κ ἰνδ(ικτίονος) ιδ οῦν(ου) δι(πλοῦν) α  
 τοῖς αὐ(τοῖς) λς ὀν(όμασι) Κρομιδιώτ(αις) ὑ(πέρ) Φαρμουῦθι κα ἰνδ(ικτίονος) ιδ  
 οῦν(ου) δι(πλᾶ) ς  
 τοῖς κε βουκκελλαρ(ίοις) τῆς Ἡρακλέους καὶ ιθ τῆς Κόμα ὀν(όμασι) μδ  
 ἐλθ(οῦσιν) ἐνταῦθα ἔνεκ(α)  
 95 τῆς αὐ(τῆς) Κράστης λόγ(ω) ἀναλώμ(ατος) Φαρμουῦθι κα  
 οῦν(ου) δι(πλᾶ) ε (ἡμισυ)  
 τοῖς τεκτόσ(ι) τοῦ ἐνδόξ(ου) οἴκου λόγ(ω) ἐορτικ(ῶν) ἐν τῇ ἀγί(α) Ἀναστάσει  
 κατὰ τὸ ἔθ(ος) καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς ιδ ἰνδ(ικτίονος) οῦν(ου) δι(πλᾶ) δ

εἰς ἐπιμέλ(ειαν) τῶν ἵππων τοῦ ἵππικ(οῦ) μέρ(ους) Βενέτων Φαρμουῦθι ιδ  
 ἰνδ(ικτίονος) ιδ ὄξ(ους) δι(πλοῦν) α  
 εἰς ἐπιμέλ(ειαν) τῶν ἵππων τοῦ ἵππικ(οῦ) μέρ(ους) Βενέτων Φαρμουῦθι κς  
 ἰνδ(ικτίονος) ιδ οῦν(ου) δι(πλοῦν) α  
 Παχῶν εἰς βροχ(ῆν) τῶν ἵππων τοῦ ἵππικ(οῦ) μέρ(ους) Βενέτων Παχῶν κα  
 ἰνδ(ικτίονος) ιδ οῦν(ου) δι(πλοῦν) α ὄξ(ους) δι(πλοῦν) α  
 100 Θεοδώρ(ω) σκουτοποι(ῶ) ποιήσαντ(ι) τὰ σκουτάρ(ια) τοῦ ἐνδόξ(ου) ὄξ(ου)  
 λόγ(ω) φιλοτιμ(ίας) Παχῶν οῦν(ου) δι(πλοῦν) α  
 εἰς ἐνχυματισμ(ὸν) τῶν ἵππων τοῦ ἵππικ(οῦ) μέρ(ους) Βενέτων Παχῶν δ  
 ἰνδ(ικτίονος) ιδ οῦν(ου) δι(πλᾶ) β

Col. vi

τοῖς κ νεωτέρ(οις) τῆς Κυνώων καὶ τῶ μειζοτέρ(ω) ἐλθοῦσι(ν) ἐνταῦθα γεουχι-  
 κ(ῆς) [χρ]εί(ας) ἔνεκ(α)  
 λόγ(ω) ἀναλώμ(ατος) Παχῶν λ ἰνδ(ικτίονος) ιδ οῦν(ου) δι(πλᾶ) ε  
 Παῦνι τοῖς κ νεωτέρ(οις) τῆς Κυνώων ἐλθ(οῦσιν) ἐνταῦθα γεουχικ(ῆς) χρεῖ(ας)  
 ἔνεκ(α) λόγ(ω) ἀναλώμ(ατος) Παῦνι ια οῦν(ου) δι(πλᾶ) ε  
 105 τοῖς δεσπότ(αις) τῶν τιρώνων ἵππων πωλύσουσι(ν) τὰ αὐ(τὰ) ἱππάρ(ια) εἰς  
 λόγον  
 τοῦ ἵππικ(οῦ) λόγ(ω) ἀναλώμ(ατος) Παῦνι ἰνδ(ικτίονος) ιδ  
 οῦν(ου) δι(πλᾶ) δ  
 Ἐπειφ τοῖς ἡνιόχ(οις) μέρ(ους) Βενέτων λόγ(ω) ἀναλώμ(ατος) ἐν τῇ θέα τοῦ Πη-  
 χ(ισμοῦ) οῦν(ου) δι(πλᾶ) γ  
 εἰς βροχ(ῆν) τῶν ἵππων τοῦ ἵππικ(οῦ) μέρ(ους) Βενέτων Ἐπειφ ζ ἰνδ(ικτί-  
 ονος) ιδ οῦν(ου) δι(πλοῦν) α  
 τοῖς λβ νεωτέρ(οις) τῆς Κυνώων ἐλθ(οῦσιν) ἐνταῦθα ἔνεκ(α) τῆς καταστάσ(εως)  
 τῆς θέας τοῦ  
 110 Πηχ(ισμοῦ) Ἐπειφ ις ἰνδ(ικτίονος) ιδ οῦν(ου) δι(πλᾶ) η καὶ τοῖς ις βουκ-  
 κελλαρ(ίοις) τῆς  
 Ἡρακλέους δι(πλᾶ) δ καὶ τοῖς κ νεωτέρ(οις) τῆς Κόμα δι(πλᾶ) ε, (γίνον-  
 ται) οῦν(ου) δι(πλᾶ) ιζ  
 τοῖς ις νεωτέρ(οις) τῆς Κόμα ἐλθ(οῦσιν) ἐνταῦθα ἔνεκ(α) τῆς κατα(στά)σεως  
 τῆς θέας ὁμοί(ως)  
 τοῦ Πηχ(ισμοῦ) λόγ(ω) ἀναλώμ(ατος) Ἐπειφ ιη ἰνδ(ικτίονος) ιδ δι(πλᾶ)  
 ε καὶ τοῖς ις νεωτέρ(οις)

τῆς Ἡρακλέους λόγ(ω) ἀναλώμ(ατος) δι(πλᾶ) δ, γί(νονται) οἴν(ου) δι(πλᾶ) θ  
 115 τοῖς αὐ(τοῖς) ἰς νεωτέρ(οις) τῆς Κόμα καὶ τοῖς ἰς τῆς Ἡρακλέους λόγ(ω) ἀνα-  
 ἀναλώμ(ατος) ὁμοί(ως)  
 Ἐπειφ ἰθ ἰνδ(ικτίονος) ἰδ οἴν(ου) δι(πλᾶ) θ  
 τοῖς αὐ(τοῖς) ἰς βουκκελλαρ(ίοις) τῆς Κόμα καὶ τῆς Ἡρακλέους λόγ(ω) ἀνα-  
 λώμ(ατος) Ἐπειφ ἰε οἴν(ου) δι(πλᾶ) ς  
 εἰς βροχ(ῆν) τῶν ἵππων τοῦ ἵππικοῦ μέρ(ους) Βενέτων Ἐπειφ ἰε ἰνδ(ικτίονος)  
 ἰδ οἴν(ου) δι(πλᾶ) γ  
 εἰς τὸ μοναστήριον τοῦ Ὀρους λόγ(ω) εὔσεβ(είας) καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς ἰδ ἰνδ(ικτίονος)  
 ὄξ(ους) δι(πλᾶ) ς  
 120 εἰς τὸ κοινόβι(ον) ἀββᾶ Παμοῦν ἐν τῷ Ὀρι Παεε λόγ(ω) εὔσεβ(είας) καὶ ἐπὶ  
 τῆς ἰδ ἰνδ(ικτίονος) ὄξ(ους) δι(πλᾶ) ν  
 γί(νεται) τοῦ δοθ(έντος) ἀναλώμ(ατος) δι(ᾶ) Φιβ οἴνοχειρ(ιστοῦ) οἴν(ου) δι(πλᾶ)  
 μο(ιριάς) α ,θξγ (ῆμισυ) δ' καὶ ὄξους δι(πλᾶ) σκγ  
 γί(νεται) ὁ(μοῦ) ἀνάλωμ(α) σὺν ὄξ(ει) οἴν(ου) δι(πλᾶ) μο(ιριάς) α ,θσπς (ῆμισυ) δ'  
 ἀνθ(ελομένης) τῆς ὑποδοχ(ῆς) τοῦ αὐ(τοῦ) οἴνοχειρ(ιστοῦ) ἰδ ἰνδ(ικτίονος)  
 οἴν(ου) δι(πλᾶ) μο(ιριάς) α ,θκκα.  
 ὡς λοιπ(άδες) οἴν(ου) δι(πλᾶ) λ[δ]δ' ἔξ ὧν ἀπὸ πλειο(νασμάτων) λόγ(ων) ἰγ  
 καὶ ἰβ οἴν(ου) δι(πλᾶ) σιβγ' ὡς πλειό(νασμα) οἴν(ου) δι(πλᾶ) ρογιβ  
 ἐνεχθ(έντα)  
 125 εἰς τὸν λόγ(ον) ἰε ἰνδ(ικτίονος) [ . ] . . . ρις.

On the verso along the fibres :

+ Φιβ οἴνοχειρ(ιστῆς) ἰδ ἰνδ(ικτίονος).

105. I. πωλήσουσι(ν). 121-3. ♂ Pap. = μν(ριάς). 122. ♂ Pap.

A col. i

[Ἰού]στω υἱῷ τῆς αὐτ(ῆς) δι(πλᾶ) λς  
 [ . . . ] ἰ γαμ(ετῆ) Παπνουθίου Τουᾶν δι(πλᾶ) ἰη  
 [Χρισ]τοφώρω πανδουρ(ιστῆ) δι(πλᾶ) λς  
 [Θεο]δώρω Ἰουλίου δι(πλᾶ) λς  
 130 [Θεοδ]ώρω υἱῷ αὐτ(οῦ) [ ]  
 [Βί]κτορι υἱῷ αὐτοῦ [ ]

[ . . ] οργγία θυγατρ(ῆ) Ἐπαῶ[τος] [ ]  
 [ . . . ] δότη θυγατρ(ῆ) αὐτ(οῦ) [ ]  
 [ . . . . . ] θυγατρ(ῆ) [ ] ]  
 135 [ ] δι(πλᾶ) λς  
 [ ] δι(πλᾶ) λς  
 [ . . . . . ] Φιλοξέν[ου] . . . δι(πλᾶ) ἰβ  
 [ ] . . . . . δι(πλᾶ) λς  
 140 Ν[ . . ] θω Ἰερημίου δι(πλᾶ) λς  
 Θεοδώρω Πέτρου Οὐνχί[ου] δι(πλᾶ) λ]ς  
 [Πρ]ασοῦτι Πελαλίου [δι(πλᾶ) ]  
 [ . . ] μαν θυγατρ(ῆ) Πραοῦτος δι(πλᾶ) ἰη  
 [ . . ] ἡρω Θεοδώρου Ἀμαρίου δι(πλᾶ) λς  
 145 [ . . . . ] ὕθω Γεωργίου Νικῶν[ος] δι(πλᾶ) λς  
 [ . . . . . ] ἰω Παύλου [δι(πλᾶ) λ]ς  
 [ . . . . . ] θυγατρ(ῆ) τοῦ αὐ(τοῦ) Παύλου δι(πλᾶ) [ . . ]  
 [ . . . . . ] ὠν υἱῷ Ἀπφου[ ] δι(πλᾶ) λ]ς  
 [Φιλ]οξένω υἱῷ αὐτοῦ [δι(πλᾶ) λ]ς

Col. ii

150 [ ] ἰσιδος δι(πλᾶ) λς  
 [ ] ταρ( ) δι(πλᾶ) λς  
 [ ] αὐ]τοῦ δι(πλᾶ) λς  
 [ ] αὐ]τοῦ δι(πλᾶ) ἰβ  
 [ ] . . . Ἰουλίου δι(πλᾶ) λς  
 155 . . . [ . . . . . ] Θ]εοδώρου δι(πλᾶ) λ[ς]  
 [ . . ] να υ[ . . . . . ] Θ]ε]οδώρου δι(πλᾶ) [ ]  
 [ . . ] ζιττ[ ] . . . [ ] ]  
 . . κτᾶ . . . [ ] ]  
 [ ] ]  
 160 Βί]κτορ[ι] . . . [ ] ]  
 Φιλοξ[ένω] . . . [ ] ]  
 Ἰού]στω [ . . ] . . [ ] ]  
 Θεοδώρ[ω] ] δι(πλᾶ) [ ] ]  
 Μακαρίω [ᾶ]δελφ(ῶ) αὐτ(οῦ) δι(πλᾶ) ἰ[ ] ]

165	Μαρία θ[υγατ]ρ(ι) αὐτ(οῦ)	δι(πλᾶ) ι[
	Εὐφημία [γ]αμ(ετῆ) αὐτοῦ	δι(πλᾶ) ιη
	Φιλοξένω Πελαλίου	δι(πλᾶ) λς
	Μηνᾶ ἀδελφ(ῶ) αὐτοῦ	δι(πλᾶ) λς
	Μηνᾶ υἱῶ Κολούθου Νικῶνος	δι(πλᾶ) ιβ
170	Θέκλα θ[υγατρ(ι)] ἀψ(οῦ)	δι(πλᾶ) ι.
	Ζωῆ θυγατρ(ι)	δι(πλᾶ) ιβ
	τοῖς .[	δι(πλᾶ) λ.
	Θε[..... Φιλ]οξένου	δι(πλᾶ) [

B col. i

	A[....]ίω μαγείρ(ω)	δι(πλᾶ) λς
175	Ἄπ[....] Ἀπολλῶ Παισε	δι(πλᾶ) λς
	[.... ἀδε]λφ( ) αὐτοῦ	δι(πλᾶ) θ
	[.....] Νικῶνος	δι(πλᾶ) λς
	[.....]α. θυ.[ ] αὐτ(οῦ)	δι(πλᾶ) ιη
	[...][ ]	δι(πλᾶ) λς
180	Πα[π]νουθίω .[ ]	δι(πλᾶ) λς
	Βίκτ[ορι] τοῦ αὐ(τοῦ)	δι(πλᾶ) ρη
	Εὐφ[ημία] ]	δι(πλᾶ) ιη
	[ ]	δι(πλᾶ) λς
	[ ]	δι(πλᾶ) ιβ
185	[ ]	δι(πλᾶ) ι.
	[ ]	δι(πλᾶ) ιβ
	...[ ]	δι(πλᾶ) λς
	...[ ]	δι(πλᾶ) λς
	[ ]	δι(πλᾶ) λς
190	[ ]	δι(πλᾶ) ιβ
	.....[ ]	δι(πλᾶ) ιβ
	Μάρκω υἱῶ αὐτοῦ	δι(πλᾶ) λς
	...δ..... ἀδελφ[ ]	δι(πλᾶ) ιη
	Θε[....].[ ]	.
195	Ια...[.....]ε βουλίου[ ]	δι(πλᾶ) ιβ
	Εὐφημία θυγατρ(ι) Κολλούθου	δι(πλᾶ) δ
	[ ]...[...].παε...[ ]σαλου	[ ]

Col. ii

	[Βίκτο]ρι Ἀπολλῶ λαμ[ ]	
	Μαρ[ία] θυγατρ(ι) ἅπα Ὠρ[ ]	
200	Διδ[... ]κεβ κιβ [ ]	
	Βίκ[τορ(ι) ἀ]δελφ(ῶ) αὐτ(οῦ) [ ]	
	Τε[.....] Θεοδώρου.[ ]	
	Ἄν[...]. υἱῶ.[ ]	
	Φοι[βάμ]μωνι.[ ]	
205	Φιλ[ ]	
	Ἄν[ ]	
	..... ωνι. υἱῶ [ ]	
	[ ]	
	[ ]	
210	Βίκ[τορ(ι)]	
	Ἄπ[ο]λ[λῶ]	
	τοῖς [ ]..... τοῦ Ἰωά[γνου]	
	Φο[ι]βά[μ]μωνι υἱῶ Ψεείου [ ]	
	Θ[....]μαί θυγατρ(ι) τοῦ αὐ(τοῦ) [ ]	
215	τοῖς[ ] διακονητήρ(σι) (?).[ ]	
	Ἰωά[ν]νη υἱῶ αὐ(τοῦ)	
	Κυρα . θυγατρ(ι) αὐ(τοῦ)	
	Ἰωάν[ν]νη μαγείρ(ω) κιχμαερ.[ ]	
	...[ ]φ. ρω...[ ]	
220	Ἰουλ( ) [ ]θαρ[ ]	
	[ ]τροῦ Θεοδώρ(ου) [ ]	

C col. ii

	Θηβαῖδ[ι] ἀδελφ(ῆ) Κοσμ[.....]. υ	δι(πλᾶ) ιη
	τῆ μητρ(ι) Πρόκλα Ἀμισειχ καὶ Πρόκλω	δι(πλᾶ) λς
	] καὶ Βίκτορί ποτε Παλωσιώτ(η)	δι(πλᾶ) ρη
225	Κοσμᾶ υἱῶ Ἀνοῦπ μαγείρ(ου) Παισε	δι(πλᾶ) λς
	Χρυσερμυτι Μαύρ(ου)	δι(πλᾶ) ιβ
	Γεωργ[ί]ω .ι[... ]ρι	δι(πλᾶ) λς
	Κω[.....]... Κόμιτα	δι(πλᾶ) λς
	Θ[.....] ἀδελφ( ) αὐτοῦ	δι(πλᾶ) θ

- 230 [ . . . . ]ι Σερήνω Παβόκ δι(πλᾶ) ιβ  
 Ἰουλ[ . . . . . ] Μηνᾶ μαγείρ(ου) δι(πλᾶ) οβ  
 Ψεμε υ[ . . . . . ] Σ]εργίου δι(πλᾶ) ιη  
 Κυ[ριακῶ (?) υ]ιῶ Γεωργίου Παπνουθίου δι(πλᾶ) ιβ  
 Μηνᾶ υἱῶ Κυριακοῦ δι(πλᾶ) [λ]ς
- 235 Παύλω καὶ Α[ . . ] βιντα καὶ Κοσμ δι(πλᾶ) ρη  
 Βίκτορ(ι) ἀπὸ κουρσόρ(ων) δι(πλᾶ) λς  
 Ἰαννία θυγατρ(ι) Κολλούθου μαγε[ίρ(ου)] δι(πλᾶ) ς  
 Σαβινιανῶ καὶ τοῖς [ . . . ] . . . [ . . . ] . ελ δι(πλᾶ) οβ  
 Γεωργί[ω υ]ιῶ Ἄννου μαυριταν δι(πλᾶ) ιη
- 240 Θεοδ[ώρ]ω [ . . . . . ] κα ἀπὸ ἰδ ἰνδ(ικτίονος) δι(πλᾶ) ιβ  
 τὰ προ[κ]εῖμ(ενα) . . .  
 ] . . . [ . το]ῖς αἰσίοις γενεθλίοις τῆς δεσποίν(ης) ἡμ[ῶ]ν τῆς  
 ἰνδ(ικτίονος) ἰδ ἀπὸ ρύσ(εως) ἰδ ἰνδ(ικτίονος) οἶν(ου) [ .  
 ] . τοῦ ἐνδόξ(ου) οἴκου ἐν τοῖς αἰσί[ο]ι[ς] γενεθλ(ίοις) τῆς δεσπ[οίν]ης ἡμ[ῶ]ν
- 245 ] . ἰνδ(ικτίονος) ἰδ ἀπὸ β[ύ]σ(εως) ἰδ ἰνδ(ικτίονος) οἶν(ου) [ .  
 ] . . . . . δα λόγ(ω) ἀναλ(ώματος) [ . . ] . .

Fr. 1

- ] δυναμ( ) απ[ . . ] πηγαρ( ) [ .  
 ] καὶ τοῖς τέκν(οις) αὐτ(οῦ) [ .  
 γα]μ( ) Βίκτορος πολλαβλέπ(οντος) [ .  
 250 ] θυγατρ(ι) Τεκράμπε [ .  
 ] υἱῶ Μαρίας Σιβελλα[ .  
 ] πολλαβλέπ(οντ ) [ .  
 γ]αμ( ) πατ[ .  
 ] φ( ) Ἰωά[ννου]  
 255 ] . . [ .

Fr. 2

- ἀ]ββᾶ Μηνᾶ μοναχ[ .  
 ] δοθ(εντ ) εἰς τὸν α . [ .  
 ] φορ( ) τῆς δεσπ(οίνης) ἡμ[ῶ]ν  
 ] αμ( ) βοηθ( ) τξ[ .  
 260 λόγ]ω ὀψωνίου . [ .  
 ] ε . . . . [ .

Fr. 3

- Ἄφφουᾶν ἀεὶ νοταρ(ίω) [ .  
 Φοιβάμμωνι νοταρ(ίω) [ .  
 Π]αμουθίω νοταρ(ίω) [ .  
 265 Σε]ρήνω νοταρ(ίω) [ .  
 Φοιβά]μμωνι ἀδελφ(ῶ) [ .

Fr. 4

- Ἰωάν[η . . ] . μερ( ) [ .  
 Μηνᾶ νοταρ(ίω) [ .  
 Κοσμᾶ νοταρ(ίω) [ .  
 270 Νεῖλω νοταρ(ίω) [ .  
 Παπνουθίω ε[ .  
 ] . [ .

Fr. 5

- ] . κονητρ( ) δι(πλᾶ) [ .  
 ] . στηρ( ) Φετ δι(πλᾶ) κδ  
 275 ] Πετρωνίου δι(πλᾶ) η  
 ] ωρ( ) Ἰωάννου χορ. δι(πλᾶ) ι  
 ] . αλα Καπ δι(πλᾶ) ς  
 ] . μ( ) κναφ( ) δι(πλᾶ) ς  
 ] . ν( ) Θεοδωρ . [ .  
 280 ] ἀδελφ( ) Ἰσιδ . [ .  
 ] . Μαριω[ .

Fr. 6

Col. i

- ] δι(πλᾶ) ιβ  
 ] δι(πλᾶ) ιβ  
 ] δι(πλᾶ) ιβ  
 285 ] . . . . . δ δι(πλᾶ) δ  
 κ]λευσ( ) τοῦ δεσπ(ότου) ἡμῶν [ .  
 ] . ηρ( ) ὄντος ἐν τῶ . [ .  
 ] . . ὑπέρ . [ .

Col. ii

- ε]ἰς τὴν ἐκκλ[ησίαν  
 290 εἰς τὴν ἐκκ[λησίαν  
 εἰς τὴν ἐκκ[λησίαν  
 εἰς τὴν [ .

Fr. 7

τοῖς ἐξῆς ἐγγεγραμμ[ένους . . .] Αἰγυπτίοις καὶ [ . ]υ[  
 Μηνᾶ διαδόχ[ω . . .] . . . δι(πλᾶ) [ . ]ς φ[  
 295 Βίκτορι υἱῶ [ . ] δι(πλᾶ) ]β [ . ]  
 Μα(?)ρίᾳ θυγατρ(ὶ) [ . ] δι(πλᾶ) ιη . . [ . ]  
 Φο]ιβάμμω[νι δι(πλᾶ) ]β [ . ]  
 ] . θυγατρ(ὶ)[

Fr. 8

] ἀγι( ) 'Ιου . [ . ]  
 300 εἰς τὸ μονα[στ]ή[ρ]ιον [ . ]  
 εἰς τὸ μο[ναστήριον  
 ]απ[

Fr. 9

] δι(πλᾶ) κ [ . ]  
 ] δι(πλᾶ) ς . [ . ]  
 305 ] δι(πλᾶ) νβ [ . ]  
 ] δι(πλᾶ) ις . τρ[ . ]  
 ]γγρ( ) καὶ ξενοδοχ[ . ]  
 ] . ουσι[ . . . . ]τρο[ . . ] . [ . ]  
 ] ον . [ . . . . . ] . [ . ]

- Col. ii 'To Menas, boatman, of Thalmaon, on account of pay from Mesore to the intercalary days of the 14th indiction, 4 double measures of wine  
 'To Macarius, nailsmith, of Mouchis, for working on the plating of the estate shrimp-shape boat, Thoth 5, 1 double measure of wine  
 'To the 27 *buccellarii* of Cynopolis, and to Theodore, headman, in all 28, for 29 rations in kind, for coming here on estate service, on account of pay, Thoth 12 of the 14th indiction, 7 1/4 double measures of wine  
 'To Peter, blind, ex-messenger, as a charitable gift, according to custom, in the 14th indiction, 36 double measures of wine  
 'To the 27 *buccellarii* of Cynopolis and to the headman, in all 28, for 29 rations in kind, for coming here on estate service, on account of pay, Thoth 9 of the 14th indiction, 7 1/4 double measures of wine  
 'To the 8 *buccellarii* for going to Cynopolis to regulate the tax-collecting district, on account of 2 days' pay, Thoth 16 and 17 of the 14th indiction, 4 double measures of wine  
 'For drink for the cavalry horses of the Blue Party at the spectacle of the Crowns, 1 double measure, and at the spectacle on the 20th of the same month of Thoth, 1 double measure. Total, 2 double measures of wine

- 'To Heraïs, wife of Anoup . . . , as a charitable gift, in the 14th indiction, 8 double measures of wine  
 'To the 27 *buccellarii* of Cynopolis, and to Theodore, headman, in all 28, for 29 rations in kind, for coming here on estate service, on account of pay, Thoth 10 of the 14th indiction, 7 1/4 double measures of wine  
 'To Menas, boat-builder, of Thalmaon, for working on the new estate shrimp-shape boat, on account of pay for the month of Thoth, 4 double measures of wine  
 'To the 24 young men of Cynopolis, and to Theodore, headman, in all 28, for 29 rations in kind, for coming here on estate service, on account of pay, Thoth 10 of the 14th indiction, 7 1/4 double measures of wine  
 'To the leading men on the happy birthday of our mistress, the most excellent *femina consularis*, by way of largesse, Mesore 27 of the 13th indiction, from the pressing of the 14th indiction, 20 double measures of wine  
 'To Apollos, collector of hay, and to Papnouthius, overseer, for going to the village of Ptochis to buy grass seed for the requirements of the estate-cultivation, on account of pay, 7 double measures of wine  
 'For the cavalry horses' drink at the spectacle of the 9th of the Thoth . . . 2 double measures of wine, and at the spectacle of the Crowns of the same month, 2 double measures of wine. Total, 4 double measures of wine  
 'To the smiths of the estate holdings . . . for working here on the great estate shrimp-shape boat, on account of pay, in the feast of the month of Thoth of the 14th indiction, 2 double measures of wine  
 'Phaophi. To Menas, boat-builder, of Thalmaon, for working on the great estate shrimp-shape boat, on account of another month's pay, from the month Phaophi 5 to Hathyr 6 of the 14th indiction, 4 double measures of wine.'

- 1 Μ]ηνᾶ ναύ(η): this name occurs often in the papyri from the records of the Apion family. There is a Menas, member of a family of boatmen, whose traces we can follow for three generations in the Apion estate. v. Hardy, p. 79, and 1916 39; 1998.  
 Θαλάμων: name of a place in The Apion estate? There is a Thalmoon in the Theodora estate in Hermopolis; cf. P. Bad. 95, and Hardy, pp. 89, 116.  
 λόγω ἀναλώμ(ατος): for the meaning of this phrase in the documents of the Apion family v. Johnson and West, p. 300.  
 2 λειπίδας: the protective plating on the ship; cf. 2195 141, and BGU 544. 8.  
 καρίδος: type of boat so called because of its shape; cf. P. Iand. 18. 7; 2032 52-4. 75; and Hardy, pp. 109 ff. For the types of boats mentioned in the papyri of the Byzantine period v. *Aegyptus* x (1929), pp. 105 ff., and Johnson and West, *Byzantine Egypt: Economic Studies*, pp. 139-40.  
 3 βουκελλαρ(ίαις): their rôle in Byzantine Egypt is discussed by Maspero, *Organisation militaire de l'Égypte byzantine*, pp. 66-8, and especially in the Apion estate by Hardy, pp. 60 ff.  
 μειζοτέρ(ω): official of the estate. As regards the different kinds of officials who bear this name in the sixth century, v. G. Rouillard, *L'Administration civile de l'Égypte byzantine*, pp. 69-70; and *La Vie rurale dans l'empire byzantin*, p. 32; and especially for the Apion family, Hardy, pp. 86-7 and 104.  
 ἀ]πνάν(ας) κθ: there is one ration in excess of the number of the individuals, and the same in ll. 6, 13, 16. Cf. 1903 1 n.  
 5 πολλαβλέ(ποντι): 'blind' rather than 'watchman' as it is translated in 1921 5; cf. PSI 956. 40; 953. 61 n.; P. Bad. 95.  
 8 πρόσωπον: the autopract district in which the landowner is directly liable for all taxes.



- Hence the landowner and district are identified in the word *πρόσωπον*. In the Justinian Codex (Ed. XIII, i. 7; iv. 2; iv. 3), it is distinguished from the *ἐπαρχία*, *πόλεις*, and *τόποι*. v. Rouillard, *Admin. civ.*, p. 60, and *Vie rurale*, p. 31, n. 44.
- 10 *βροχή(ῆν)*: what is this drink? In P. Tebt. 40r. 27 (early first cent.), the *βροχή* is one of the ingredients employed to make beer. On the other hand, wine is mentioned in Homer, *Il.* viii. 185 ff. as a drink for horses. In any case the possibility that this wine was used as a massage cannot in this instance be excluded. *βρ]οχῆν* should be restored in PSI 953. 77, cf. 42.
- μέρ(ους) Βενέτων*: a new proof of the help supplied by the Apion family to the Blue faction in the circus of Oxyrhynchus. Cf. Hardy, p. 136, and Johnson and West, p. 210 and the papyri there quoted.
- 16 κδ is a mistake, and should be κζ, as can be seen from the total.
- 18-19. *πρωτοδημό(στ)αις*: the leading men of the place; cf. *πρωτοκομιήτης* and *δημότης*, the simple citizen, in 1730 4 (fourth cent.) and *Stud.* xx. 227. 11 (sixth-seventh cent.).
- αἰσί(ο)ις γε[με]θλι(ο)ις*: for a gift of wine on the occasion of *γενέθλια* v. PSI 953. 46, 80, and Masp. 340. ii. 26.
- δεσπ(ο)ίνης) ἡμῶν τῆς ἑπ. ὑπαρίσσο(ης)*: this *femina consularis* must be Cyra, wife of Apion II. Cf. introduction and, for the whole entry, cf. ll. 242, 244 below.
- 20 *ἐπιχειμ(ένω)*: cf. 2239 6, 10, 19, in which is contained a contract between a landowner and a *ἐπιχειμενος* defining the functions of the latter in the service of the estate, salary to be received and the fee due to the owner on entering service.
- 21 *εἰς τὴν χρεῖαν* or *ὑπὲρ* must be supplied before *γεουχικ(ῆς) αὐτουργί(ας)*. This phrase refers to the part of the estate lands cultivated directly by the landlord. Cf. 139; 1981; and Rouillard, *Vie rurale*, p. 26, n. 92.
- 24 Just possibly *ο[ἱ] εἰσ]ιν ἐναθά*, but one would have expected the name of the *κτῆματα* to be given. The *κτῆμα*, a division of the *προστασία*, is the land of an estate situated outside the village. v. Johnson and West, pp. 63 ff., and Rouillard, *Vie rurale*, p. 20.
- 25 *ἐορτῆ τοῦ Θωθ μην(ός)*: cf. PSI 953. 59.
- 28 *ἀγωγῶδ*: groom, guide? Cf. P. Cair. 59781. 9, and P. Tebt. 886. 67.
- 32 *ἀπαργυρισμ(ο)ις* is actually the *adaeratio* or pay in cash of the *annona*. Cf. 2020 11, and Rouillard, *Admin. civ.* pp. 134-5.
- 34 *πιτρακ(ο)ις*: cf. PSI 955. 10, and 2028 16. An extract of the different meanings of this word in papyri can be seen in Day and Keyes, *Tax Documents from Theadelphia*, pp. 144 ff.
- 37 *αἰσί(ο)ις βρωμαλ(ο)ις*: special commemoration? Cf. PSI 956. 46. For *brumalia* v. *Th. Linguae Latinae*, s.v.
- τ[οῦ] δεσπότη τοῦ ἡμῶν τοῦ ὑπερφ. Ἀπίωνος*: the identification of this Apion has already been discussed in the introduction.
- 39 *σ]παδαρ(ο)ις* = *spathariis* has been restored here on the basis of PSI 955. 5, cf. 2045 i. 15. But perhaps simply *παδαρ(ο)ις* = *παδαρ(ο)ις* should be read, cf. the miswriting in PSI 953. 38. For *Γόθθ(ο)ις* cf. PSI 953. 17, 32, 46 etc.; 956. 26.
- 40 *πανδουρ(ο)ταῖς*: cf. l. 128 and P. Princeton ii. 96. 39.
- στρώκρορ(ο)ι*: *structores*.
- 41 *καλανδικ(ῶν)*: gifts on the occasion of the New Year, which afterwards became a prerogative of the officials. Cf. 1869 2-3; 1875 11; and Rouillard, *Admin. civ.* p. 40, n. 2, and Johnson and West, pp. 296 and 309.
- 43 *μίμ(ο)ις*: cf. 519 3; 1050 25; and SB v. 8249. 2 and 8407. 2.
- καλοπέκτ(αις)* = *καλοπαίκτηις*, cf. PSI 953. 88; 2470.
- 44 *ξενοδοχ(εῖον)*: according to Johnson and West, p. 71, maintained by the Church for the accommodation of the guests of the monastery.

- 45 *τεκτόσ(ω) μηχανουργ(ο)ίς*: those who manufactured the *μηχαναί* or water-wheels, cf. 1970 14, 34; 1987 21; and Hardy, pp. 113-15 and 127.
- 47 *σταβλ(ίταις) Τακόνα*: cf. 1906 15; 2021 11. See for the importance of this station of the public post of the estate Hardy, pp. 106-9, and Johnson and West, pp. 163-7.
- ἀντυγεούχ(ου)*: for the significance of this word v. Hardy, pp. 80 and 85-7, and Rouillard, *Vie rurale*, p. 32. Cf. also 1845; 1847; 1853; 1859.
- ἐνορίας*: the district of Oxyrhynchus where the factories of Apion were situated? Cf. 2027 24; PSI 953. 21; and Preisigke, s.v.
- 50 *Κρομιδιώτ(ων)* seem to relate to the inhabitants of Crommydion. Crommydion is found in fact as a place-name in 1861 8 and 1921 16. As there was a stable in Crommydion, perhaps the *Κρομιδιώται* here mentioned are stablemen. v. Hardy, p. 107.
- ἰ(πέρ) ξε(στῶν) λ οἶν(ου) δι(πλά) ε*: from this line and the following we can draw the inference that the *διπλοῦν* was the equivalent of six *sextarii*. Cf. 1893 14 n.; 1920 7, 10, 12. For other equivalents of the *διπλοῦν* in the papyri, and a general discussion on the measures of wine in Byzantine Egypt, v. Casson, *TAPA* lxx (1939), 1 ff.
- 61 *διακόν(ω)*: this seems here to be a notary, as in 1961; 1985. v. Hardy, p. 140.
- λόγω ἀφονίου*: as salary (paid in kind); cf. 1913 40, 57; 2008 1.
- 62 *ἀρχων* = *praeses* of the lower Thebaid, cf. 1829 2 n.; 1888 2 n. This man is perhaps identical with Flavius Menas Justinianus Demosthenes Thomas of P. Lond. 1679. 4 and P. Cairo Masp. iii. 67320. 1, where he figures as *v.c.* tribune and *notarius* of the sacred *palatium* and *praeses* of the Thebaid. P. Lond. 1679 is not precisely dated; P. Cairo Masp. 67320, acc. to its editor, should be assigned to A.D. 541. A 'count Thomas of magnificent memory' is referred to in P. Cairo Masp. 67169 bis, 6 (iii, p. 3 f.) of A.D. 569.
- 63 *ἐλλογμ(ω)τάτ(ω) . . . σχολ(αστικῶ)*: advocate attached to the estate tribunal; cf. 1913 14, 54, 56; Rouillard, *Admin. civ.* p. 151, n. 8; and Hardy, pp. 105-6.
- 64 *Κράστης*: the same as *κράστις*, *γράστις*? Here it means perhaps the harvest festival.
- 66 *βουκελλάρ(ο)ις τῆς Κόμα*: a village in the Heracleopolite nome where there was a detachment. Cf. 150 2, and Maspero, op. cit. p. 140.
- 82 *φιλτ(ανο)ίς*: they seem to be a branch of the cavalry. Cf. P. Cair. 67057, and P. Flor. 297. v. also Johnson and West, pp. 225, 227.
- 84 *ἐνκεκλισμέ(νο)ις ἐν τῇ φυλακῇ*: cf. PSI 953. 37, 54-60; 1945 (Christmas). For private prisons, and especially those in the Apion estate, v. Hardy, pp. 67-71.
- 96 *ἐορτικ(ῶν)*: gifts on the occasion of feasts; cf. 724 6; 1950 2; 1951 2; 2032 5.
- 100 *τὰ σκουτάρ(ια)*: the article justifies the expansion of this word proposed in 2057.
- 101 *ἐνχυματισμ(όν)*: drink, massage?
- 107 *Πηχ(ισμῶ)*: another festival; it was perhaps related to the measurement of the land inundated by the Nile.
- 121 *Φιβ οἰνοχειρ(ιστοῦ)*: cf. 2044 1, also of the 14th indiction. But the name is a common one and there are no very obvious points of contact.
- 167 *Φιλδέξενος Πελαδίου*: the name recurs in 2244 introd. 4, where also (ll. 4 and 6) recur names appearing below in l. 196 and l. 199. The separate introductory scrap in 2244 may have been part of this or a similar wine account.

## INDEXES

(The figures 24 are to be supplied before 52-80. Figures in small raised type refer to fragments, small roman numerals to columns. An asterisk indicates that the word to which it is attached is not recorded in the ninth edition of *Liddell and Scott, Greek-English Lexicon*. Square brackets indicate that a word is wholly or partly supplied from other sources or by conjecture. A word completely restored in this way is not indexed if it supplements a literary text. If it supplements a document it may be indexed.)

### I. NEW LITERARY TEXTS

#### (a) SOPHOCLES, EURIPIDES AND OTHER POETIC TEXTS (2452-63)

- |  |   |   |
|--|---|---|
| <p>ἄβουλος [52<sup>6</sup> 6]<br/>           Ἀγαμέμνων 55 141, 171 (?)<br/>               60<sup>10</sup> 11<br/>           ἀγαπᾶν (?) 55 59<br/>           ἀγγέλλειν 58 59 <i>v.l.</i><br/>           ἀγεῖν 52<sup>2</sup> 1, 3 15<br/>           ]αγεῖν[ 52<sup>48</sup> 1<br/>           ἀγενής 54 13<br/>           ἀγηλατεῖν [54 24]<br/>           ἀγκυρα 60<sup>15</sup> [3 ?]<br/>           ἀγραυλος 53<sup>45</sup> 3 (?)<br/>           ἀγριος 55<sup>46</sup> 3 (?) 60<sup>10</sup> [17]<br/>           *Αγρ[οικος] [62 4]<br/>           *Αγχιππος 63 [11 ?]<br/>           ἀγωνίζεσθαι 55 195<br/>           ἀδελφή 55 234 (?), 284 57 24<br/>           Ἀδελφοί 62 10 (<i>bis</i>)<br/>           ἀδελφός 55 [3 ii], 115 3 (?),<br/>               234 (?), 294<br/>           ἀδικεῖν 55 123 (?)<br/>           αἰεί 52<sup>2</sup> 19<br/>           αἰεξ 58 23<br/>           *Αθαμας 55 224, 227, 271, [277]<br/>           ἀθάνατος 52<sup>13</sup> 1 (?)<br/>           Ἀθηνᾶ 55 163, 261<br/>           Ἀθῆναι 52<sup>3</sup> 14<br/>           ἀθλητής 54 19<br/>           ]αθλι[ 52<sup>38</sup> 1<br/>           ἀθλιος (?) 58 37<br/>           ἀθλον 57 14<br/>           αἰαί 58 36, 64<br/>           *Αἰδης 54 45 58 41<br/>           αἰθέριος 53<sup>45</sup> 5<br/>           αἰθήρ 54 44, 52<br/>           αἶμα 52<sup>5</sup> 14<br/>           αἶνγμα 59<sup>2</sup> 5</p> | <p>Αἰόλος 55 224 57 18, 21<br/>           αἰρεῖν 54 54 <i>v.l.</i><br/>           αἰσχυν[ [52<sup>44</sup> 1]<br/>           αἰτεῖσθαι 55 213<br/>           αἰχμάλωτος 55 169, 256<br/>           ἀκήδευτος 55 300<br/>           ἀκολουθεῖν[ 55<sup>49</sup> 4, 112 1]<br/>           ἀκούειν 55 180 60<sup>10</sup> 16 [61 1<br/>               13 (?)]<br/>           ἀκούσιος 58 21<br/>           ἀκουσίως 55 199 (?)<br/>           ἄκων [60<sup>11</sup> 9]<br/>           ἄλασις 62 14<br/>           ἀλήθεια 55 210<br/>           ἀληθής 60<sup>5</sup> 4 64 i 2<br/>           ἀλιεύς 52<sup>81</sup> 1 55 [67]<br/>           Ἀλιεύς 62 7<br/>           ἄλιος 60<sup>18</sup> [6]<br/>           ἀλκή 52<sup>5</sup> 17<br/>           *Ἀλκηστις 57 11<br/>           ἀλλά 52<sup>3</sup> 1, 4, 9, 6 20, 10 3<br/>               54 58 55 199 (?), 238 (?)<br/>               58 24 60<sup>5</sup> 5<br/>           ἄλλος 57 32 58 63 (?) 61 1<br/>               17<br/>           ἄμα 52<sup>25</sup> 4<br/>           ἀμαρτάνειν 52<sup>9</sup> 9 (?)<br/>           ἄμειν. See ἐγώ<br/>           ἀμειψις 54 55<br/>           ἀμπελών 55 105<br/>           Ἀμύντωρ 55 244 (?)<br/>           Ἀμφιάραος 55 200, 15 4, [44<br/>               2 (?)]<br/>           Ἀμφιτρύων 63 [4]<br/>           ἄν 60<sup>1</sup> [9], 10 10<br/>           ἀναγκάζειν 55 266</p> | <p>ἀναγκαῖος 55 238<br/>           ἀναλκις [52<sup>32</sup> 5]<br/>           ἀνάλωμα 55 285<br/>           ἀναξ 61<sup>2</sup> i 4<br/>           ἀναρραγής 54 4<br/>           ἀνας [55 103<br/>           ἀναυδος 52<sup>4</sup> ii 2<br/>           Ἀνδρία 62 11<br/>           Ἀνδρογενής [52<sup>73</sup> 1]<br/>           Ἀνδρόγυνοι [62 3]<br/>           ἀνεμος [52<sup>12</sup> 1 (?)] 57 21<br/>           Ἀνεμοί 62 6<br/>           ἀνήρ 52<sup>5</sup> 8 55 51 60<sup>22</sup> 2 (?), 4<br/>           ἀνθρωπος 55 302<br/>           *ἀνοικεῖν 57 22<br/>           Ἀνταῖος 54 11<br/>           ἀντανγεῖν 59 1 9<br/>           ἀντίπερα 55 180<br/>           ἀντίτροφος [52<sup>48</sup> 7]<br/>           ἀντιπνεῖν 58 58<br/>           ἀνυπόστατος 52<sup>3</sup> 20<br/>           ἄνω [52<sup>2</sup> 19 (?)]<br/>           ἄνωγα [52<sup>11</sup> 8 (?)]<br/>           ἄξιος 52<sup>2</sup> 1<br/>           ἀξιοῦν [57 13] 60<sup>13</sup> 4 (?)<br/>           ἄπαις 58 23<br/>           ἀπαντρεῖν 60<sup>1</sup> [1 (?)]<br/>           ἄπας 52<sup>1</sup> 3<br/>           ]απειλεῖν 55 33<br/>           ἀπείργειν 60<sup>10</sup> 2<br/>           ἀπειρος 61<sup>3</sup> 3<br/>           ἀπειρικός 61<sup>1</sup> 10 (?)<br/>           ἀπιέναι 52<sup>1</sup> 4<br/>           ἀπιστεῖν 55 210<br/>           Ἀπιστος 62 8<br/>           ἀπλατος 54 14</p> |
|--|---|---|

ἐναντός 65<sup>3</sup> 6  
 ἐνθάθα 65<sup>21</sup> 5  
 ἐπάνω 65<sup>2</sup> 21  
 ἔπειτα 69 [14]  
 ἐπέρχεσθαι 66 10  
 ἐπί 64 ii [36] 65<sup>2</sup> 14, 22 66  
 3, 23, [25]  
 ἐπιβάλλειν 65<sup>2</sup> 20  
 ἐπιδικάζειν 64 iii 25  
 ἐπίκληρος 64 ii 15, iii 27, 30  
 ἐπιτιθέναι 65<sup>2</sup> 22  
 ἐπίτροπος 64 iii 12, 20  
 Ἐπιφανής [65<sup>12</sup> 10 (?)]  
 ἐπωνυμία 65<sup>11</sup> 3, 12 4  
 ἔργον 64 iii 39  
 ἔρημος 64 ii 31  
 ἔρχεσθαι 66 23  
 ἔτερος 69 30  
 ἔτι 66 9  
 εἶ 64 iii 34  
 εὐεργεσία 65<sup>7</sup> 8  
 εὐλαβεῖσθαι 66 20  
 εὐπλοῖ 65<sup>2</sup> ii 19  
 εὐώνυμος 69 [25]  
 ἔφηβος 65<sup>2</sup> 11  
 ἔχειν 64 ii [35], iii 17, 30 65<sup>1</sup>  
 7, 2 20, 3 7, 12 6 69 [24]  
 Ζεύς 64 ii 30  
 Ζεφυ[ 65<sup>2</sup> ii 23  
 ἦ 64 i 4 (?) 65<sup>2</sup> 14 (bis)  
 ἦδη 69 32  
 ἡμέρα 66 8  
 Ἡρακλεΐδα 65<sup>3</sup> 16 (?)  
 Ἡρακλῆς 65<sup>1</sup> 11, 3 21 (?)  
 ἦττα 66 19  
 θεα[ 65<sup>3</sup> 9  
 ]θεσις 65<sup>12</sup> i 5  
 Θεσμοφόριον 65<sup>2</sup> 5  
 Θέστιος 65<sup>1</sup> 16 (bis)  
 Θῆβαι 69 [14]  
 θηγάτηρ 64 ii 27, [36] 65<sup>3</sup>  
 19  
 θύειν 65<sup>2</sup> 12, 13, 16, 12 4  
 Ἰδιος 64 iii 4 66 18  
 Ἰδρυμα 65<sup>2</sup> 13, 14 (?)  
 ἱερέας 65<sup>2</sup> 10

ἱκανός 66 3, 26  
 ἴνα 64 iii 15  
 Ἰππότης 65<sup>3</sup> 17  
 Ἰσθμεύς 65<sup>18</sup> 10  
 ]ιστάται 66 4  
 ἱστορεῖν 65<sup>1</sup> 9, 3 12, 14 4 (?)  
 ἱστορία 65<sup>19</sup> 3 (?)  
 ἰσχυρός 66 24  
 καθιστάται 64 iii 14  
 καλῶς 65<sup>1</sup> 7  
 κανηφόρος 65<sup>2</sup> 8, 15  
 Κανωβεύς 65<sup>3</sup> 11  
 Κάρανος 65<sup>1</sup> 18 (bis)  
 κατά 64 iii 46 65<sup>1</sup> 8, 2 14  
 κατακαύειν 65<sup>2</sup> 23  
 καταλείπειν 64 i [14], ii 35  
 καταπαύειν 65 [21 5]  
 κατάστασις 64 iii [42]  
 καταχωρίζειν [65<sup>10</sup> 8 (?), 12  
 7 (?)]  
 κατέχειν 65<sup>3</sup> 9, 16 [69 29 (?)]  
 Κείκος 65<sup>1</sup> 15 (bis)  
 κελεύειν 64 ii [42]  
 κέρας 69 [25], 28  
 Κλεοδαῖος 65<sup>1</sup> 12 (bis)  
 Κλεονίκη 65<sup>1</sup> 20  
 Κλεοπάτρα 65<sup>1</sup> 21, 13 8  
 Κωνός 65<sup>1</sup> 19 (bis)  
 Κορίνθιοι 65<sup>3</sup> 14  
 Κόρινθος 65<sup>3</sup> 16  
 κτᾶσθαι 64 ii 38  
 κτείνειν 66 6  
 Λακεδαιμόνιος 69 [29]  
 λαμβάνειν 65<sup>3</sup> 4  
 Λαν[ 65<sup>1</sup> 18  
 λέγειν 64 iii 27, 37 65 [1 6]  
 λέπειν 69 [12]  
 Λητώιον 65<sup>11</sup> 6  
 Μακεδών 69 [2]  
 μάλιστα 64 ii 13  
 μάλλον 66 9  
 Μαρδόκιος 69 [10], [20], 34  
 Μάρων 65<sup>1</sup> 15 (?)  
 μάχεσθαι 66 4 69 [33]  
 μειοῦν 66 8  
 μένειν 69 6  
 μέρος 66 12

μέρος 69 18  
 μετά 65<sup>3</sup> 16 66 17, 19  
 μεταξύ 69 17  
 μετονομάζειν [65<sup>1</sup> 6 (?)]  
 μή 64 iii 21 66 20  
 μηδέ 64 iii 15, 36 66 12  
 μηδαίς 65<sup>2</sup> 7  
 μηδίζειν 69 [22], [26]  
 μήπω 64 ii [4]  
 μήτηρ 64 ii 1  
 μόνος 66 [16]  
 μουσικός 65<sup>3</sup> 8  
 μυριάς 69 [23]  
 μύριος 69 [4]  
 νικᾶν 64 i [10]  
 Νικουσία 65<sup>1</sup> 23  
 νόμος 64 ii [40], iii 45  
 νομός 66 10  
 ὀγδοήκοντα 69 [19]  
 ]οδιάζειν 65<sup>18</sup> 9 (?)  
 ὄδος 65<sup>2</sup> 15  
 οἰκοδομητός 65<sup>2</sup> 20  
 οἶκος 64 ii [32]  
 οἶος 64 ii 3  
 ὀλίγος 66 17  
 Ὀλύμπιος [65<sup>14</sup> 2 (?)]  
 ὀμογιώμων 64 iii 40  
 ὀμοίως 65<sup>2</sup> ii 18 (?), 3 6  
 ὀμορεῖν 66 [22]  
 ὄμορ 64 iii 31  
 ὀμωνυμία 65<sup>3</sup> 4  
 ὄρᾶν 66 7  
 ὀρθός 64 iii 6  
 ὄρνεον 65<sup>2</sup> 16  
 ὀρφανός 64 iii 15  
 ὄς 64 i 5, ii 35, 37 65<sup>2</sup> 15,  
 3 13  
 ὄς: ὀδ 65<sup>3</sup> 5  
 ὄσπριον 65<sup>2</sup> 23  
 ὄστις 64 ii 4  
 ὄστε 64 iii 25  
 ὄστι 64 iii 28, 34  
 οὐ 64 ii 8, 13, iii 34, 41  
 οὐδέ 64 iii 3  
 οὐδεπώποτε 64 ii 11  
 Οὐέβηλις 66 16, 21  
 οὖν 64 iii 29  
 οὗτος 64 ii 5, 11, 13, 38, 39,

iii 38 65<sup>1</sup> 5, 11, 15, 3 10  
 69 [18], [34]  
 ὄχυρον 66 26

παῖς 64 ii [43], iii 8  
 πανήγυρις 65<sup>3</sup> 7  
 πάππος 65<sup>11</sup> 8  
 παραγράφειν 64 i [2 (?)]  
 παρέχειν 65<sup>18</sup> 13  
 πᾶς 65<sup>2</sup> 16, 19, 3 21 66 27  
 πατήρ 64 ii 9  
 πέμπειν 69 [1]  
 πέμπτος 66 12  
 Περδικκας 65<sup>1</sup> 20, 21  
 περὶ 64 ii 11 65<sup>12</sup> i 3, 18 3, 19  
 5, 21 4 66 17 69 [14], [17]  
 Πέρσης 69 [25], 33  
 Πλαταιαί 69 [17]  
 πληθύνειν 66 11  
 πλῆν 65<sup>2</sup> 17  
 πλίνθινος 65<sup>2</sup> 20  
 ποιεῖν 64 ii 19, iii 7, 39 65<sup>2</sup>  
 18, 13 5  
 πόλεμος 64 iii 1  
 πόλις 65<sup>8</sup> 6 (?), 13 7 (?) 66 24  
 πολὺς 66 4, 5  
 ποτε 64 1  
 πρό 65<sup>2</sup> 13  
 Προθήη 65<sup>1</sup> 22  
 πρόσ 64 ii 30, iii 28 65<sup>1</sup> 7 (?),  
 12 11 (?) 69 32  
 προσαγορευεῖν 65<sup>3</sup> 10 (?)  
 προσεμμιπράναι 69 [13]  
 πρόκοδος [65<sup>13</sup> 2 (?)]  
 Προθύμις 65<sup>3</sup> 14  
 πρύτανις 65<sup>2</sup> 10  
 πρῶτος 65<sup>18</sup> 10

Πτολεμαίειον 65<sup>2</sup> 6  
 Πτολεμαῖος 65<sup>7</sup> 2  
 Πυραιχ[ 65<sup>3</sup> 19  
 πῶς 64 ii 3  
 ραβδοφόρος [65<sup>2</sup> 11]  
 εἰτήρις 65<sup>7</sup> 3  
 κικηνο [ 65<sup>2</sup> 23  
 εμικρός 65<sup>20</sup> 3  
 στάδιον 69 [19]  
 στέφανος [65<sup>7</sup> 5]  
 στεφανοῦν [65<sup>7</sup> 4 (?)]  
 στρατοπεδεύω 69 [14], [16]  
 στρατεία 66 13  
 στρατιά 69 [12]  
 στρατολογεῖν 66 21  
 σύ 64 iii 3, 4, 9, 28  
 συγγένεια 65<sup>1</sup> 8  
 συμμαχεῖν 69 [7]  
 συμπατεῖν 66 15  
 σύνεγγος 65<sup>3</sup> 3  
 συνοικ[ 64 iii [46 (?)]  
 συνορία 66 25  
 σφέεις 66 [7]  
 σχίζα 65<sup>2</sup> 22  
 τάλαντον 69 [4]  
 τε 64 ii 3  
 τελευτᾶν 64 iii 1  
 τέμενος [65<sup>2</sup> 4 (?)]  
 τέσσαρες 69 23  
 Τημενός 65<sup>1</sup> 14 (bis)  
 τηρεῖν 69 [6]  
 τιμᾶν 65 [1 2]  
 τιμή 65<sup>13</sup> 3  
 τις 65<sup>2</sup> 19

τοῖνον 64 i [9 (?)], iii 35  
 τόπος 65<sup>3</sup> 8 66 18  
 τράγος 65<sup>2</sup> 17  
 τρέφειν 64 ii [41]  
 τροποῦν 66 11  
 τυγχάνειν 65<sup>3</sup> 6  
 Τυρίμας 65<sup>1</sup> 19, 20  
 υἱός 65<sup>3</sup> 14, 17  
 Ὑλλος 65<sup>1</sup> 11, 3 21  
 ὑπάρχειν 65<sup>1</sup> 4 69 [32]  
 ὑπέρ 64 i 6, iii 9  
 ὑπεκχεῖσθαι 69 [3]  
 ὑπό 64 i [14], iii 16, 18 66 15  
 φάνας 64 ii 1, iii 43 69 [30]  
 φεύγειν 66 15  
 ]φεύγειν 64 i 7  
 Φιλάδελφος [65<sup>7</sup> 2 (?)]. See  
 Ἄρσινθη  
 Φίλιππος 65<sup>1</sup> 22, 23  
 Φύλας 65<sup>3</sup> 8, 20  
 φυλή 65 [1 1]  
 χαρίεις 65<sup>3</sup> 8  
 χάρις 65 [21 2]  
 χρόνος 66 [3]  
 χρυσός 65<sup>7</sup> 5  
 χαρίζειν 65 [10 8 (?), 11 7]  
 ψηφίζειν 64 iii 23, 31  
 ψήφισμα 65<sup>12</sup> ii 6 (?)  
 ὦ 64 iii 5, [35]  
 ὥσπερ 64 ii 12  
 ὥστε 66 12  
 ]ποικεῖν 65<sup>8</sup> 7

## II. EMPERORS AND REGNAL YEARS

## AUGUSTUS

θεός Σεβαστός [76 3]

## CLAUDIUS

Τιβέριος Καίσαρ (sic) 76 1

Τιβέριος Κλαύδιος Καίσαρ Σεβαστός 76 4

Τιβέριος Κλαύδιος Καίσαρ Σεβαστός Γερμανικός Αὐτοκράτωρ (ὀγδόου (ἔτ.)) 71 16

## HADRIAN

Αὐτοκράτωρ Καῖσαρ Τραιανὸς Ἀδριανὸς Σεβαστός (δ' ἔτ.) 72 17, 19  
θεὸς Ἀδριανός 76 4  
Τραιανὸς Ἀδριανὸς Καῖσαρ ὁ κύριος 72 4, 5

## SEPTIMIUS SEVERUS

θεὸς Σευήρος (Σευήρος) 76 7, 11

## CARACALLA

θεὸς Ἀντωνεῖνος 76 [11]

## SEVERUS ALEXANDER

θεὸς Ἀλέξανδρος 76 [11]  
Αὐτοκράτωρ Καῖσαρ Μάρκος Αὐρήλιος Σευήρος Ἀλέξανδρος Εὐσεβῆς Εὐτυχῆς Σεβαστός (θ' ἔτ.) 73 32

## DIOCLETIAN AND MAXIMIAN

Αὐτ. Καῖσ. Γαῖου Αὐρ. Οὐαλερίου Διοκλητιανοῦ καὶ . . . Αὐτ. Καῖσ. Μάρκου Αὐρ. Οὐαλερίου Μαξι-  
μιανοῦ Γερμανικῶν Μεγ. Εὐσ. Εὐτ. Σεβ. (ἔτ. δ' καὶ ἔτ. γ') 75 15 77 14  
τῶν κυρίων ἡμῶν Δ. καὶ Μ. ἀηττήτων Σεβαστῶν 76 42  
τῶν κυρ. ἡμῶν Δ. κ. Μ. Εὐσ. Εὐτ. Σεβ. (ἔτ. δ' καὶ ἔτ. γ') 76 50

## MAURICE

τοῦ θειωτάτου καὶ εὐσεβεστάτου ἡμῶν δεσπότης μεγίστου εὐεργέτου Φλαβ. Μαυρικίου Νέου Τιβερίου  
τοῦ αἰωνίου Αὐγούστου καὶ Αὐτοκράτορος (ἔτ. ιδ') 78 2

## III. CONSULS

Τιβέριος Καῖσαρ . . . ὕπατος τὸ δ' (sic ?) 76 1  
Τιβεριῶν Κλαυδίων Καίσαρι Σεβαστῶν καὶ Ἰουλίῳ (Ι. Λουκίῳ) Οὐτελλίῳ τὸ β' ὑπάτου 76 4  
ὑπάτις τοῦ αὐτοῦ εὐσεβεστάτου ἡμῶν δεσπότης (= Maurice) 78 3  
ὑπάτισσα 80 19

## IV. INDICTIONS

ινδ. ιδ' 78 3 80 1, 4, 5, 7, 9, 12, 14, 17, 19 (bis), 25, 27, 30, 31, 34, 36, 37, 41, 44, 45, 46,  
48, 49, 50, 54, 56, 58, 60, 61, 63, 65, 67, 69, 71, 73, 77, 79, 81, 86, 88, 91, 92, 96, 97,  
98, 99, 101, 106, 108, 110, 113, 116, 118, 119, 120, 123, 125 (bis), 240, 243 (bis),  
245 (bis)

## V. MONTHS

\*Αθύρ 73 9 78 3 80 27, 35,  
36, 37  
\*Ἐπίφ 80 107, 108, 110, 113,  
116, 117, 118  
Θάθ 72 7 (bis), 20 73 35 80 2,  
4, 7, 9, 11, 14, 15, 17, 22, 25  
Μεσορή 76 50 80 1, 19

Μεχείρ 80 47, 48, 49, 50, 51  
Παῦνι 80 104 (bis), 106, 235  
Παχῶν 80 99 (bis), 100, 101,  
103  
Φαμενώθ 80 52 (bis), 54, 56,  
58, 60  
Φαρμούθι 71 15 80 61, 62, 65,

67, 69, 71, 73, 75, 76, 78,  
80, 81, 83, 86, 88, 89, 90,  
91, 95, 97, 98  
Φαῶφι 80 26, 27, 29, 30, 34

## VI. PERSONAL NAMES

(br.= brother ; d.= daughter ; f.= father ; h.= husband ; m.= mother ; s.= son ;  
w.= wife. † denotes names not in Preisigke's *Namenbuch*.)

Α[ . . . ] βιντα 80 235  
Α . . . ios, cook 80 174  
\*Αβδέος 74 39  
\*Αγαθοκλής : Μάρκος Αὐρήλιος  
\*Α., called Asterius 76 20, 26  
† \*Αγασικράτης 73 17  
\*Αγρικόλαος : Μάρκος Αὐρήλιος  
\*Α. 76 37, 47  
\*Αδριανός. See II under Ha-  
drian  
\*Ακανθῶν, s. of Apollonius 72  
[10 (?)]  
\*Αλε . . . , f. of Chaeremon 71 6  
\*Αλέξανδρος. See II under Se-  
verus Alexander  
\*Αμάριος, f. of Theodorus,  
grandfather of . . . enus 80  
144  
\*Αμοσειχ 80 223  
\*Αμμων : Αὐρήλιος \*Α., f. of  
Aurelius Ammon 77 5  
—, s. of Ammon 77 5, 18  
\*Αμμώνιος. See \*Απίων  
\*Αμόσις, f. of Aurelius Ptolion  
73 2  
\*Αν[ 80 203, 206  
\*Αναστάσιος, f. of Zacharias 78  
9, 29  
\*Ανος, f. of Georgius 80 239  
\*Ανοῦπ, f. of Cosmas, cook 80  
225  
\*Ανουπ . . . , h. of Heraïs 80 12  
\*Αντωνεῖνος. See II under Ca-  
racalla  
\*Αντώνιος ἀταλειος 76 3  
Απ[ . . . ], s. of Apollos, grandson of  
Pause 80 175  
\*Απαῶς, f. of . . . ourgia 80 132  
\*Απίων : Αὐρήλιος \*Α. called  
Ammonius, s. of Apion  
called Pausirion and Vari-  
ana 73 3, 35, 37  
— called Pausirion, f. of  
Aur. Apion called Ammo-  
nius 73 4

— (Flavius II) 80 37  
— Φλάβιος \*Α. (III) 78 4  
\*Απολλω . . . , f. of Horion 72  
13  
\*Απολλώνιος 72 22  
—, f. of Acanthon (?) 72 10  
—, s. of Collouthus 72 14, 22  
—, s. of Heracleus, grand-  
son of Didymarchus 72 12  
\*Απολλῶς 80 211  
—, f. of Victor 80 198  
—, s. of Pause, f. of Ap . . .  
80 175  
—, χοροτοπαρλήμπτης 80 20  
\*Απφου[ . . . ], f. of . . . αν, grand-  
father of Philoxenus 80 148  
\*Απφουῶν, notary (διάκονος) 80  
61, 262  
\*Αριστίων, s. of Teiron 73 12  
\*Αρίων, abbot 80 44  
\*Αρμύσις, s. of Patomtous 72  
2, [21]  
\*Αρχίας 71 10  
\*Ασκατάρειον 74 14  
\*Ασκληπιάδης : Αὐρήλιος \*Α., s.  
of Achillion 77 2  
\*Αστέριος. See \*Αγαθοκλής  
\*Ατρῆς : Αὐρήλιος \*Α., s. of Pe-  
teesius, grandson of Nech-  
thenibis 76 [16], 25, 29, 32,  
[42]  
Αύρηλια : \*Α. Χαρημονίς 74 5  
Αὐρήλιος. See \*Αγρικόλαος, \*Αμ-  
μων, \*Απίων, \*Ασκληπιάδης,  
\*Ατρῆς, \*Αχιλλῶν, \*Ἡράκλειος,  
Θέων, Κασυλλᾶς, Λεωνίδης,  
Παμβήχιος, Πολλίαν, \*Ωρίων  
\*Αχιλλῶν, f. of Aurelius Ascle-  
piades 77 2  
\*Αχιλλῶν : Αὐρήλιος \*Α., s. of  
Cornelianus 74 21, 42

Βίκτωρ 80 160, 180, 216, 236,  
295  
—, blind 80 249

—, br. of Did . . . 80 201  
—, cursor 80 236  
—, Παλωσιώτης 80 224  
—, s. of Apollos 80 198  
—, s. of Theodore, grandson  
of Julius 80 131  
Βίων, f. of Demetrius and Isi-  
dore 71 3, 4

Γάιος. See II under Diocle-  
tian and Maximian  
Γεώργιος 80 227, 239  
—, s. of Annus 80 239  
—, s. of Nicon, f. of  
uthus 80 145  
—, s. of Papnouthius, f. of  
Cyriacus (?) 80 233

Δημητρία. See Σαραποῦς  
Δημήτριος : Τιβέριος Κλαύδιος  
Δ., s. of Bion, br. of Isidore  
71 [3], 4, [5], [8], 11, 20  
Διδ . . . , br. of Victor 80 200  
Διδύμαρχος, f. of Heracleus,  
grandfather of Apollonius  
72 12  
Διδύμη, m. of Aurelius Ptol-  
ion 73 3

\*Επίμαχος 74 36, [40]  
\*Ερμῆς, abbot 80 46  
Εὐδαίμων, f. of Horoleon 72 2,  
20  
Εὐφήμια 80 182  
—, d. of Collouthus 80 196  
—, w. of Macarius 80 166

Ζαχαρίας, s. of Anastasius 78  
7, 29  
Ζωή 80 172

\*Ἡραῖς, w. of Anoup . . . 80 12  
\*Ἡράκλειος : Μ. Αὐρ. Ἡ. Κόμο-  
δος called Νικαντήνοος 76 19,  
[22]

- Ἡρακλῆος, f. of Apollonius **72**  
12
- Θαμύρις: Κλαύδιος Θ. **76** [3]  
Θε[ **80** 194  
Θε[, s. of Philoxenus **80** 174  
Θέκλα, d. of Menas, s. of Col-  
louthus, grandson of Nikon  
**80** 171  
—, m. of Aur. Pambechius  
**78** 14  
Θεοργώστη **74** 32  
Θεόδωρ [ **80** 279  
Θεόδωρος **80** 155, 156, 221, 240  
—, br. of Macarius, f. of  
Maria **80** 163  
—, f. of Te... **80** 202  
— μειζότερος, τριβοῦνος **80** 3,  
13, 16, 29  
—, s. of Amarius, f. of  
enus **80** 144  
—, s. of Julius, f. of Victor  
**80** 129  
—, s. of Peter, grandson of  
Ounchius **80** 141  
—, s. of Theodoros, grand-  
son of Julius **80** 130  
— ακυτοποιός **80** 100  
Θέων: Αὐρήλιος Θ., s. of Aris-  
tion and Sarapous called  
Demetria, grandson of  
Teiron **73** 10  
—, slave **74** 29  
Θηβαῖς, s. of Cosm... **80** 222  
Θνάς, s. of Pancharion **74** 20  
Θωμάς, ἀρχων (=praeses) **80** 62  
Θώνιος **74** 10
- Ἰα... [ **80** 195  
Ἰαννία, d. of Collouthus, cook  
**80** 237  
Ἰέραξ, f. of John **80** 63  
Ἰερημίας, abbot **80** 31  
—, f. of N thos **80** 140  
Ἰου[. See VIII  
Ἰουλ( ) **80** 220  
Ἰουλ[, s. of Menas, cook **80** 231  
Ἰούλιος **80** 154  
—, f. of Theodore **80** 129.  
See Οὐτέλλιος

- Ἰουστός **80** 126, 162  
—, boatman **80** 34  
Ἰουδ[ **80** 280  
Ἰσιδωρος: Τιβέριος Κλαύδιος  
Ἰ., s. of Bion, br. of Deme-  
trius **71** [3], 4, 8, 11, [21]  
Ἰωάννης **80** 212, 216, 254, 267,  
276  
—, cook **80** 218  
—, s. of Hierax, *scholasticus*  
**80** 63
- Καῖσαρ. See II  
Καπ(?) **80** 277  
Κάστωρ: Κλαύδιος Κ. **76** 3  
Κασυλλᾶς: Μάρκος Αὐρήλιος Κ.  
**76** 21, 30, 37, 46  
Κλαύδιος **71** [3], 16 **76** 3, 3,  
[4]. See Δημήτριος, Θαμύρις,  
Ἰσιδωρος, Κάστωρ and II  
under Claudius  
Κολλούθος, f. of Apollonius **72**  
14, 22  
—, f. of Euphemia **80** 196  
—, f. of Iannia, cook **80** 237  
—, f. of Menas, s. of Nikon  
**80** 170  
Κομιτᾶς **80** 228  
Κόμοδος. See Ἡράκλειος  
Κοπρῆς, s. of Pancharion **74** 20  
Κορνηλιανός, f. of Aur. Achil-  
lion **74** 21  
Κοσμ[ **80** 235  
Κοσμ[, br. (?) of Thebaῖς **80**  
222  
Κοσμᾶς, *notarius* **80** 269  
—, s. of Anoup **80** 225  
Κυρα... **80** 217  
Κυριακός, f. of Menas **80** 234  
— (?), s. of Georgius, grand-  
son of Papnouthius **80** 233  
Κω[ **80** 228
- Λεωνίδης: Αὐρήλιος Λ., *strate-*  
*gus* of Oxyrhynchus **73** 1
- Μακάριος, br. of Theodore, h.  
of Euphemia **80** 164  
—, nailsmith **80** 2  
Μαρία **80** 251, [296 ?]

- , d. of ἄπα Ὀρ[ **80** 199  
—, d. of Theodore **80** 165  
Μαριν[ **80** 280  
Μάρκος **80** 192. See also Ἄγα-  
θοκλῆς, Ἀγρικόλαος, Ἡρά-  
κλειος, Κασυλλᾶς, Ὀρίων  
and II under Severus  
Alexander, Diocletian and  
Maximian  
Μαυρίκιος. See II under Mau-  
rice  
Μαυριταν( ) (?) **80** 239  
Μαῦρος, f. of Chrysermyti **80**  
226  
Μηνᾶς **78** 5  
—, abbot **80** 256  
—, boatman, boatbuilder  
**80** 1, 15, 26, 36  
—, br. of Philoxenus, s. of  
Pelalios **80** 168  
—, διάδοχος **80** 294  
—, f. of Iul..., cook **80** 231  
—, *notarius* **80** 268  
—, s. of Collouthus, grand-  
son of Nikon, f. of Thecla  
**80** 170  
—, s. of Cyriacus **80** 235
- N... θος, s. of Jeremias **80**  
140  
Νάρκισσος **71** 10, 13, 19  
Νεῖλος, *notarius* **80** 270  
Νεχθενίβης, f. of Peteesius,  
grandfather of Aurelius  
Hatre **76** [16], 26, 29, 32,  
42  
Νικαντίνοος. See Ἡράκλειος  
Νικόν **80** 177  
—, f. of Collouthus, grand-  
father of Menas **80** 170  
—, f. of Georgius, grand-  
father of... uthus **80** 145
- Ουαλέριος **75** 15, 16 **77** 14, 16  
Ουαριάνα, m. of Aurelius A-  
pion, called Ammonius **73** 5  
Οὐτέλλιος: Ἰούλιος (*sic*: ἰ. Λού-  
κιος) **76** 4  
Οὐγκίος, f. of Peter, grand-  
father of Theodore **80** 141

- Παβόκ, f. of Serenus **80** 230  
Παμβήχιος: Αὐρήλιος Π., s. of  
Paul and Thecla **78** 13  
Παμοῦθιος, *notarius* **80** 264  
Παμοῦν, abbot **80** 120  
Πανεμνεύς, f. of Psois **72** 8  
Πανεσνεύς, s. of Phmouis **72** 3,  
21  
Πανχάριον, m. of Copres, P...  
and Thnas **74** 19  
Παπνούθιος **80** 233, 271  
—, f. of Georgius, grand-  
father of Cyriacus (?) **80**  
233  
—, overseer **80** 20  
—, s. of Touan **80** 127  
Πατασιων **76** 26. See Πετεήσιος  
Πατασίσιος **76** 42. See Πετεή-  
σιος  
Πατομτούς, f. of Harmiysis **72**  
[2], [21]  
Παῦλος **80** 146, 147  
—, f. of Aurelius Pam-  
bechius **78** 13  
Πανσε **80** 225  
—, f. of Apollon, grand-  
father of Ap... **80** 175  
Παῦσειριος **74** 13  
Πανσειριών. See Ἄπιων  
Πελάλιος, f. of Philoxenus **80**  
167  
—, f. of Praous **80** 142  
Πετεήσιος, f. of Aurelius Ha-  
tres, s. of Nechthenibis **76**  
[16], 29, 32. See Πατασιων,  
Πατασίσιος  
Πέτρος, blind ex-messenger **80**  
5  
—, s. of Ounchius, f. of  
Theodore **80** 141

- Πετρώνιος **80** 275  
Πηροῦς **79** 2  
Πραοῦς, f. of... μαν **80** 143  
—, s. of Pelalios **80** 142  
Πρόκλα **80** 223  
Πρόκλος **80** 223  
Πολλίων: Αὐρήλιος Π., s. of  
Amois and Didyme, grand-  
son of Sarapion **73** 2, 35
- Ῥόδων **73** 16
- Σαβινιανός **80** 238  
Σαραπίων, f. of Amois, grand-  
father of Aur. Ptollion **73** 3  
—, *strategus* of Lycopolis  
**72** 1  
Σαραπούς, called Demetria, m.  
of Aurelius Theon **73** 14  
Σεουήρος. See II under Septi-  
mius Severus  
Σέργιος, f. of Ψεε **80** [232]  
Σερήνος, *notarius* **80** 265  
—, s. of Paboc **80** 230  
Σευήρος **73** 33 **76** 11. See II  
under Septimius Severus,  
Severus Alexander  
Σιβελλα[ **80** 251  
Σισίνης **74** 39
- Τααμμώνιος, slave **74** 29  
Τε[, s. of Theodore **80** 202  
Τείρων, f. of Ariston, grand-  
father of Aurelius Theon  
**73** 11  
Τεκράμπε **80** 250  
Τιβέριος **71** [3]. See also II  
under Claudius, Maurice  
Τουάν, f. of Papnouthius **80**  
127

## VII. GEOGRAPHICAL

## (a) COUNTRIES, NOMES, TOPARCHIES, CITIES, ETC.

- Αἰγύπτιοι **80** 293  
Ἄλεξανδρεῖς **76** 20, 26  
Ἄντινοεῖς **76** 19, 20, 21, 22, 26,  
30, [37], 46, 48 (?)  
Ἄντιοχεῖς **76** 32, 48 (?)

- Γόθθος **80** 39  
Ἐρμπολίτης **76** 22, 32, 48  
Ἡρακλέους (πόλις) **80** 30, 64, 70,  
74, 78, 87, 93, 111, 115, 117  
Θηβαῖς **80** 31

- Τραιανός. See II under Ha-  
drian
- Φέτ **80** 274  
Φίβ, οἰνοχειριστής **80** 121, 125  
Φιλ[ **80** 205  
Φιλόξενος **80** 138, 161  
—, f. of The... **80** 174  
—, s. of... on, grandson of  
Ἄσφου[ **80** 149  
—, s. of Pelalios, br. of Me-  
nas **80** 167  
Φλάβιος. See Ἄπιων. See also  
II under Maurice  
Φμοῖς, f. of Panesneus **72** 3, 21  
Φοιβάμμων **80** 204, 297  
—, br. of... **80** 266  
—, *notarius* **80** 263  
—, s. of Ψέειος **80** 213
- Χαιρημονίς: Αὐρηλία Χ. **74** 5,  
[15], 19, 30, 33  
Χαιρήμων, s. of Ale... **71** 6,  
[8], 9, 12, 14, [21]...  
Χριστοφόρος, pandourist **80** 128  
Χρυσερμυτι **80** 266
- Ψέειος, f. of Phoebammon **80**  
213  
Ψεε, s. of Sergius **80** 232  
Ψῶς, s. of Panemgeus **72** 8
- Ὀρ[ **80** 199  
Ὀρίων, s. of Apollo..., sailor  
**72** 13  
— Μάρκος Αὐρήλιος Ὀ. **76**  
32, 47  
†Ὀρολέων, s. of Eudaemon **72**  
2, 20
- Κρομιδιώτης **80** 50, 51, 52, 53,  
57, 59, 85, 91, 92  
Κυνών (πόλις) **80** 3, 6, 8, 13,  
16, 68, 80, 102, 104, 109  
Λυκοπολίτης **76** 20, 22, 26

Λυκοπολίτης (νομός) 72 [1]  
 Λύκων πόλις 72 [10], [14]  
 Ὀξυρυγχίτης 76 [16], 22, 26, 29  
 Ὀξυρυγχίτης (νομός) 73 [1] 78  
 15

Ἀθλίτου ἐποίκιον 78 14  
 Ἀντιπέρα Πέλα 73 16  
 Κινέας ἐποίκιον 79 2  
 Κόμα (Heracleopolite) 80 66,  
 76, 93, 111, 112, 115,  
 117

Θαλαμόν 80 1, 15, 26, 36  
 Μουσείον 71 [6]

\*ἀββάς 80 31, 44, 46, 120, 256  
 ἄγιος 78 8 80 84, 96, 299  
 ἀνάστασις 78 8 80 84, 96  
 ἄπα 80 199  
 Διώνυσος 76 1, [14], [36]  
 ἐκκλησία 78 8 80 289, 290, 291  
 θεῖος 76 36, 42, 46 78 1, 11  
 θεός 74 6 76 [3], 4, [7], [11],  
 [11], [11] 77 9 79 24  
 θίος. See θεῖος  
 θηροκία (= -εία) 76 10

## IX. OFFICIAL AND MILITARY TERMS AND TITLES

ἀρχιδικαστής καὶ πρὸς τῇ ἐπι-  
 μελείᾳ τῶν χρηματιστῶν καὶ  
 τῶν ἄλλων κριτηρίων 71 [1]  
 ἀρχων (= *praeses*) 80 62  
 βιβλιοφύλαξ 73 28, 31  
 \*βουκελλάριος 80 3, 6, 8, 13,  
 29, 35, 39, 49, 55, 64, 66,  
 68, 72, 74, 75, 76, 78, 80,  
 87, 89, 93, 110, 117  
 βουλευτής 73 7, 11 77 3  
 βουλή 75 [1] 76 36 77 1  
 γυμνασιάρχος 71 5 73 11 77 3  
 δημαρχικός 76 [1]  
 ἐναπόγραφος 78 15 79 7

ἐναρχος 77 3  
 ἐξηγητεύειν 73 12  
 ἐπιτηρητής 72 3  
 ἱερεὺς 71 5  
 καταλογεῖν 71 15 73 [8]  
 κοσμητής 73 6, 36  
 κούρσωρ 80 236  
 κριτήριον 71 [2]  
 Κύρενα (= *Quirina*) 71 3  
 μειζότερος 80 3, 6, 13, 16, 68, 102  
 νεώτερος 80 16, 30, 70, 102,  
 104, 109, 111, 112, 113, 115  
 πρεσβεύς 76 3  
 προνητής 79 21

Πανοπολίτης 76 19, 21, 22, 30  
 37, 37, 46, 47  
 Πανοπολιτῶν πόλις 76 17, 24,  
 28, 31, 34, 41  
 Ὑψηλή 72 1

Πώις (Lycopolite) 72 11  
 Σενοκῶμις 74 38  
 Σέφθα 80 29, 35  
 Τακόνα 80 47  
 Σκινεπωεύς (Lycopolite) 72 [8]  
 Τάσις (Lycopolite) 72 15

\*Ὄρος Πάεε 80 120  
 Παλωσιώτης (?) 80 224  
 Ψύλλον (δύμη) 74 14

## VIII. RELIGION

\*Ἰου [ ], saint (?) 80 299  
 καθηγεμών 76 36  
 κοινόβιον 80 31, 46, 120  
 Κράστη 80 64, 67, 69, 70, 72,  
 81, 82, 83, 85, 87, 90, 91,  
 95  
 μοναστήριον 80 119, 300, 301  
 μοναχ[ ] 80 256  
 ξενοδοχείον 80 44, [307]  
 \*Ὄρος : μοναστήριον τοῦ \*Ὄρους  
 80 119

\*Ὄρος Πάεε 80 120  
 Πάνεια 76 18, 25, 29, 31, 35, 44  
 Περσεύς 76 18, 25, 29, 31, 35,  
 44  
 Πυθιάς 76 18, 24, 28, 31, [35],  
 44  
 Στεφάνια 80 10  
 Στεφανίων 80 23  
 συνθυσία 76 6  
 φιλόχριστος 79 3  
 Χριστός 79 18

πρυτανεύειν 74 22  
 πρύτανις 77 3  
 πρωτοδημότης 80 18  
 \*σπαδάριος (*spatharius*) 80 [39]  
 (?)  
 στρατηγός 72 1 73 [1]  
 ταμίης 72 11 (?), 14 (?)  
 ταμίον (= ταμειών) 72 11 (?),  
 14 (?)  
 τελώνης 72 5  
 τίρων 80 105  
 \*τριβόνης 80 29, 35, 66  
 ὑπομνηματογράφος 75 [2] 77 [2]  
 φιλιτανός 80 82

## X. PROFESSIONS, TRADES, AND OCCUPATIONS

ἀγωγός 80 28  
 ἀντιγεοῦχος 80 47, 51, 52, 53,  
 55, 57, 59  
 γεωργός 79 [7]  
 \*διακονητήρ 80 215  
 διάκονος 80 6  
 ἐπικείμενος 80 20  
 ἡλοκόπος 80 2  
 ἡμιόχος 80 82, 107  
 \*καλαφάτης 80 33  
 καλοπαίκτης 80 43  
 καθαρωδός 76 20, 26  
 κναφεύς 80 278

μάγειρος 80 40, 174, 218, 225,  
 231, 237  
 μηχανουργός 80 45  
 μίμος 80 43  
 \*ναυπηγῆτης 80 15, 26, 33  
 ναύτης 80 1, 34  
 ναυτικός 72 10, 14  
 \*νοτάριος 80 262, 263, 264, 265,  
 268, 269, 270  
 οἰκέτης 74 29 78 6  
 οἰκονόμος 78 7  
 οἰνοχειριστής 80 121, 123, 125  
 πανδοριστής 80 40, 128

πωμαρίτης 78 16  
 σαλπικτής 76 21, 33, [38], 46,  
 47, 48  
 \*σκυτοποιός 80 100  
 σταβλίτης 80 47  
 \*στρώκτωρ (*structor*) 80 40  
 σύμμαχος 80 5  
 συναγωνιστής 76 2  
 σχολαστικός 80 63  
 τεκτών 80 33, 45, 96  
 τεχνίτης 76 1, [13], [14], [14]  
 χαλκεύς 80 24, 28  
 χορτοπαραλήμπτης 80 20

## XI. WEIGHTS, MEASURES, COINS

## (a) WEIGHTS AND MEASURES

ἄρουρα 73 18, 19, 21 74 39  
 ἀρτάβη 72 9, 11, 13, 13, 15, 16,  
 16 74 17, 17, 18  
 διπλοῦν 80 1, 2, 4, 5, 7, 9, 10,  
 11, 11, 12, 14, 15, 17, 19,  
 21, 22, 23, 23, 25, 27, 28,  
 29, 30, 31, 32, 32, 34, 35,  
 36, 37, 39, 39, 40, 40, 40,  
 41, 43, 44, 45, 46, 48, 49,

50, 51, 52, 54, 56, 58, 60,  
 61, 62, 63, 65, 67, 69, 71,  
 73, 74, 75, 77, 79, 80, 81,  
 82, 83, 86, 88, 89, 91, 92,  
 95, 96, 97, 98, 99, 99, 101,  
 103, 104, 106, 107, 108, 110,  
 111, 111, 111, 113, 114, 114,  
 116, 117, 118, 119, 120, 121,  
 121, 122, 123, 124, 124, 126,

127, 128, 129, 136-56, 163-  
 196, 236-40, 273-8, 282-5,  
 294-7, 303-6  
 κεράμιον 74 [17], 35  
 λίτρα 74 1  
 ξέστης 80 50, 51, 52, 54, 58, 60  
 οὐγκία 74 1

δηράριον 76 16

## (b) COINS

τάλαντον 71 17

## XII. TAXES

ἐρμηνία 72 [3]

## XIII. GENERAL INDEX OF WORDS

\*ἀββάς. See VIII  
 ἀγαθός 79 1  
 ἄγειν 76 10, 18, 25, 29, [31],  
 35  
 ἄγιος. See VIII  
 ἄγοσέν 77 7  
 ἄγραφος 71 23  
 ἀγωγή 78 7  
 ἀγωγός. See X

ἀγών 76 18, 25, 29, [31], 33,  
 35, 41, [44], 44  
 ἀγώνισμα 77 [6]  
 ἀγωνοθέτης 76 [12]  
 ἀδελφ( ) 80 176, 193, 229, 280  
 ἀδελφή 74 32 80 222  
 ἀδελφός 74 27 80 164, 168,  
 201, 266  
 ἀδιάθετος 74 26

ἀδιάλειπτος 78 16  
 ἀδύνατος 79 19  
 ἀεί 80 61, 262  
 ἀήττητος 76 [39], 43  
 Αἰγύπτωι 80 293  
 αἰρεῖν 76 41 (?)  
 αἴσιος 80 18, 37, 242, 244  
 αἰτία 79 23

αἰώνιος 78 2  
 ἀκατάγνωστος 78 19  
 Ἀκτιονίκης 76 [33 (?)]  
 ἄκυρος 71 [18]  
 ἀκόλυτος 74 31  
 ἀλειτούργητος 76 45  
 ἀλήθεια 72 18  
 ἀλιτούργητος. See ἀλειτούργη-  
 τος  
 ἀλλήλων 71 7  
 ἄλλος 71 [2], 21, [23] 76 [7],  
 32, 43, 48 80 26, 33, 87, 91  
 ἄμα 74 28  
 ἀμεμπτος 78 18  
 ἀμοιβή 74 37  
 ἀμυβή. See ἀμοιβή  
 ἀμφότερος 71 4 73 5, 36  
 ἀν 76 5  
 ἀνά 76 10 (?)  
 ἀνάγκη 76 6  
 ἀναγράφειν 79 11  
 ἀναδέχεσθαι 78 12  
 ἀναδιδόναι 76 36  
 ἀνακηρύσσειν 76 40  
 ἀνακ[ ] 76 10 (?)  
 ἀνάλωμα 80 1, 4, 7, 8, 14, 15,  
 17, 21, 25, 26, 29, 30, 35,  
 36, 47, 49, 50, 51, 52, 54, 56,  
 58, 60, 65, 67, 71, 73, 82, 85,  
 88, 91, 95, 103, 104, 106,  
 107, 113, 114, 115, 117, 121,  
 122, 246  
 ἀναπέμπειν 73 27 79 17  
 ἀνάστασις. See VIII  
 ἀνατρέφειν 79 17  
 ἀνατρέχειν 74 27  
 ἀνατροφή 79 11  
 ἀνεσφορία 76 6  
 ἀνήρ 76 10, 45, 45 78 7  
 ἀνθαιρεῖν 80 123  
 ἀνθρωπος 74 6, 26  
 ἀνιστάται 79 8  
 ἀνίσταται 76 2  
 ἀννόνα 80 [3], 6, 13, 16  
 ἀνταμείβεσθαι 76 39  
 ἀντάρχων 76 20, 27  
 ἀντί 74 37  
 ἀντιγεῖχος. See X  
 ἄνωθεν 76 [11]  
 ἀξιόλογος 77 2

ἀξιόων 73 30 75 12 77 11  
 ἄσικνος 78 18  
 ἄσπα. See VIII  
 ἀπαιτεῖν 79 15  
 ἀπαγγαρισμός 80 32  
 ἀπέρχεσθαι 80 20, 29, 30, 35  
 ἀπέχειν 71 [8]  
 ἀπλός 71 23 78 28  
 ἀπό 71 23 72 7, 8, 9, 10, 14,  
 14 73 6, 14 74 24, 24 76  
 [1], 13, 14, 42 77 5 78  
 4, 9, 14 79 2, [9] 80 1,  
 1, 2, 5, 15, 19, 26, 27, 31,  
 31, 36, 50, 124, 236, 240,  
 243, 245  
 ἀποδιδόναι 73 23 76 16  
 ἀποκ 74 12  
 ἀποκαθιστάται 74 23  
 ἀποσφίζειν 74 22  
 ἀποφέρειν 76 43  
 ἀργύριον 71 [17] 72 [16]  
 ἀρκεῖν 74 35, 40  
 ἄρουρα. See XI (a)  
 ἀρτάβη. See XI (a)  
 ἀρχή 76 9  
 ἀρχιδικαστής. See IX  
 ἀρχιχερεὺς 76 [1], [16], [26], 30,  
 32, 42, 43  
 ἄρχων 76 19, 19, 21, 23, 30.  
 See also IX  
 ἀσημος 74 1  
 Ἀσιονίκης 76 [33 (?)]  
 ἀσκεῖν 77 6  
 ἀστρατεία 76 5  
 ἀσυλία 76 5  
 ἀτεκνος 74 26  
 ἀτέλεια 76 [5]  
 ἀτέλής 71 6 76 5, 45  
 Αἰγυσιος. See II under Mau-  
 rice  
 αὐθαίρετος 78 11  
 αὐτ 74 3  
 αὐτόθι 74 22  
 αὐτοκράτωρ 71 [17] 72 17, 19  
 73 33 75 [15], [16] 76 [9]  
 77 14, 15 78 2  
 αὐτός 71 [9], 11, 12, 14, 18, 21  
 72 7, 9, 15 73 7, 11, 13, 15,  
 15, 23, 31 74 7, [16], 18,  
 20, 21, 22, 23, 23, 24, 24, 26,

26, 27, 29, 30, 31, 31, [34],  
 35, 36, 40, 40, 41, 41, 42, 42,  
 44 75 18 76 6, [10], [14],  
 [41 (?)], 43 77 [3], 5 78 3,  
 7, 13, 16, 16, 17 (?), 19, 20,  
 21, 22, 25, 26, 27 79 4, 10,  
 [15], 17, 26, 28 80 11, 23,  
 34, 51, 62, 74, 75, 76, 78,  
 80, 89, 92, 95, 105, 115, 117,  
 123, 126, 130, 131, 133, 147,  
 149, 152, 153, 164, 165, 166,  
 168, 171, 176, 178, 192, 201,  
 214, 216, 217, 229, 248  
 αὐτοურγία 80 21  
 ἀφήλις 74 21  
 ἀφικεῖσθαι 76 34

βάλλειν 80 33  
 βασιλεία 76 [8] 78 1  
 βασιλικός 76 [16]  
 Βένετος 80 10, 28, 82, 83, 90,  
 97, 98, 99, 101, 107, 108,  
 118  
 βιβλίδιον 73 29  
 βιβλιοφύλαξ. See IX  
 βίος 77 6  
 βοθη( ) 80 258  
 βοϊκός 74 13  
 \*βουκελλάριος. See IX  
 βούλεσθαι 74 29, 31, 36, 40 76  
 [9]  
 βουλευτής. See IX  
 βουλή. See IX  
 βροχή 80 10, 22, 81, 83, 90, 99,  
 108, 118  
 \*βρωμμάλια (= *brumalia*) 80 37

γαμ( ) 80 [249], [253]  
 γαμβρός 74 21  
 γαμετή 80 12, 127, 166  
 γάρ 79 19, 20, 23  
 γε 74 32  
 γενέθλιος 80 18, 242, 244  
 γεουχεῖν 78 5  
 γεουχικός 78 17, 20, 27 80 2,  
 4, 7, 14, 15, 17, 21, 24, 26,  
 102, 104  
 Γερμανικός 71 16 75 [17] 77  
 16  
 γεουργία 79 9

γεουργός. See X  
 γῆ 74 10 79 4  
 γίγνεσθαι 71 12, [19] 72 13,  
 15, 16 74 23, 26, [36] 77  
 8 80 11, 23, 32, III, 114,  
 12., 122  
 γνώσκειν 76 [15]  
 γνώμη 76 8 78 11  
 Γόθθος 80 39  
 γράμμα 75 18  
 γραμματεὺς 76 20, 27  
 γράφειν 75 18 76 [17] 78 28  
 γυμνασιάρχος 71 5 73 11 77  
 3  
 γυμνικός 76 18, 31, 35, 44

δανείζειν 71 14  
 δάνειον 71 18, 22  
 δέ 73 19, 21 74 5, [13], [15],  
 20, 25, 28, 29, 36, 40 76  
 3, [5], 39 79 21  
 δέησις 77 11 79 1  
 δεῖν 73 32  
 δέκα 71 17 74 1  
 δεκατέσσαρες 73 21  
 δέκατος 79 [26 (?)]  
 δέσπονα 80 18, 242, 244, 258  
 δεσποτία 79 3, 7, [14], 19  
 δεσπότης 78 1, 3, 6 79 1, 18,  
 19, 24, 28 80 37, 105  
 δέχεσθαι 76 [6]  
 δηλοῦν 73 25  
 δημοκρατικὴ ἐξουσία. See IX  
 δῆμος 76 36  
 δημόσιος 76 5 80 35  
 δηράριον. See XI (b)  
 διά 71 [9], 9, [13], 15, [19]  
 73 8, 25, [36] 74 [27] 76  
 [8], 10, 39 77 [1], [5] 78  
 5, 13, 22 80 121  
 διάγειν 78 17  
 διαγορεύειν 76 46  
 διαγραφή 71 [10], [12], 14, [20]  
 διάδοχος 80 294  
 δαιτῶν 74 33  
 \*διακονητήρ 80 215  
 διάκονος. See X  
 διαρπάζειν 79 22  
 διάρταβος 73 19  
 διαστολή 73 26

διάταγμα 76 4  
 διατάσσειν 74 24  
 διαφέρειν 74 37  
 διδάσκειν 79 [6], 21  
 δίδοναι [74 16] 76 [3], [5], 9  
 78 20 80 121  
 ]διδόναι 80 257  
 διέρχεσθαι 73 9  
 διευτυχεῖν 77 13  
 δίκαιον 73 25 76 9  
 δίκαιος 76 [43 (?)] 79 5  
 διό 76 43  
 διοικεῖν 74 41 76 33  
 Διοκλητιανός (adj.) 76 [15], 23,  
 27, 30, 34, 50  
 διπλή 75 11 76 33, [35 (?)]  
 διπλοῦν. See XI (a)  
 δοκεῖν 76 35  
 δουλικός 74 19  
 δοῦλος 79 2  
 δυναμ( ) 80 247  
 δύνασθαι 79 16, 20  
 δύο 73 20  
 δυοτρακοστός 73 20, 22  
 δωρεά 76 [5]

εἶν 74 25 77 9  
 ἐγγραπτος 71 [23]  
 ἐγγράφειν 80 37, 41, 293  
 ἐγγυᾶσθαι 78 12  
 ἐγγύη 78 28, 30  
 ἐγγυητής 76 [6]  
 ἐγκλείειν 80 84  
 ἐγκτησις 73 28, 31  
 ἐγκληματισμός 80 101  
 ἐγώ 74 [1], 5, 6, [6], 16, 19,  
 21, 23, 24, 26, 27, 28, 30, 32,  
 32, 34, 37, 38, 41, 45 76  
 [8], [9], [11], 24, 28, 31, [36],  
 [39], 42, 45, 50 77 12 78  
 1, 3, 21, 28, 30 79 11, 15,  
 15, 18, 22, 27 80 18, 37,  
 242, 244, 258  
 ἐθλεῖν 76 [10]  
 ἔθος 78 20 80 5, 31, 44, 45,  
 46, 96  
 εἰ 78 26 79 [14]  
 εἰδέναι 75 18 76 17, 45  
 εἴκοσι 74 17, [35]  
 εἰκάν 76 2, 40

εἶναι 71 [18] 73 22 74 13,  
 24, 25, 28, 29 76 3, [5 (?)],  
 12, 46 79 20  
 εἶργεν 76 7  
 εἰς 74 27 76 [8], [15], 17, 45,  
 45 77 8 80 2, [3], 8, 10,  
 13, 15, 16, 22, 24, 26, 29,  
 30, 31, 34, 35, 36, 44, 46, 81,  
 83, 84, 90, 97, 98, 99, 101,  
 105, 108, 118, 119, 120, 125,  
 257, 289-92, 300  
 εἰς 73 23  
 εἰσελαστικός 76 18, 25, 29, [31],  
 35, 44  
 εἰσέρχεσθαι 79 15  
 εἰσηγεῖσθαι 76 [37], 47  
 εἰσοδος 80 62  
 ἐκ 72 9, 18 73 10, 16, 24 74  
 4, 26, 28, 29 76 4, 9, 16, 41,  
 41 78 20 80 124  
 ἕκαστος 74 23 76 12  
 ἐκατόν 74 17  
 ἐκδιδόναι 76 49 77 12  
 ἐκκλησία. See VIII  
 ἐκούσιος 78 10  
 ἐκτός 78 24  
 ἐκφύριον 74 25 78 27  
 ἐλάττων 76 43  
 ἐλεημοσύνη 79 [5]  
 ἔλεος 79 23  
 ἐλεύθερος 74 28  
 ἐλλόγιμος 80 63  
 ἐμαυτός 79 6  
 ἐμβάλλειν 72 [10], 14  
 ἐμός 74 27 76 11 78 27 79  
 1, [8], [9], 11, 17, 25  
 ἐμπροσθεν 71 [24]  
 ἐν 71 5 72 11, 12, 14 74 [1],  
 6, 13, 14, 44 76 17, 24,  
 28, 31, [34], 41 (?) 78 17,  
 22, 24, 25 79 15, [17], 21  
 80 10, 11, 18, 20, 22, 23, 25,  
 31, 32, 33, 33, 34, 34, 37, 62,  
 81, 82, 83, 84, 84, 90, 96,  
 107, 120, 244  
 ἐναπόγραφος. See IX  
 ἐναριθμεῖν 79 27  
 ἐναρχος. See IX  
 ἐνγραπτος. See ἐγγραπτος  
 ἐνγυᾶσθαι. See ἐγγυᾶσθαι

ἐνδεικνύει 74 [6 (?)] 78 18  
 ἑνδεκα 73 18  
 ἐνδομηνία 74 3  
 ἐνδοξος 78 25 80 47, 51, 52, 53, 55, 57, 59, 84, 96, 100, 244  
 ἑνεκα 79 [26 (?)] 80 4, 7, 14, 17, 47, 50, 53, 55, 57, 59, 64, 66, 68, 70, 72, 74, 76, 78, 80, 85, 87, 91, 93, 102, 104, 109, 112  
 ἔνεκεν 78 23  
 ἔνθα 78 25  
 ἐνιαυτός 79 8, 9  
 ἐνιστάναι 71 [24] 72 4  
 ἐνκτησις. See ἔγκτησις  
 ἐνορία 80 47, 50, 53, 55, 57, 59, ἐνοχή 78 7  
 ἐντάγιον 76 [16]  
 ἐνταῦθα 78 5 80 4, 6, 14, 17, 24, 47, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 55, 57, 59, 64, 66, 68, 70, 72, 74, 75, 76, 78, 80, 85, 87, 91, 93, 102, 104, 109, 112  
 ἐγκληματισμός. See ἔγκληματισμός  
 ἐξ 74 1, 18  
 ἐξί 74 9  
 ἐξάνυσις 80 35  
 ἐξείναι 74 45  
 ἐξέρχεσθαι 79 4  
 ἐξηγητεύειν. See IX  
 ἐξήτης 78 10 80 37, 41, 293  
 ἐξουσία 74 29 76 [1]  
 ἔξω 77 8  
 ἑορτή 80 25  
 ἑορτικός 80 96  
 ἐπάγειν 76 5 80 1  
 ἐπακολουθεῖν 72 5, [22]  
 ἐπάνω 74 11  
 ἐπέει 71 [8]  
 ἐπερωτᾶν 78 6, 28  
 ἐπί 71 7, 21 72 15, 18 73 24 74 [16], 18, 30, [41] 76 [8], 18, 18, 24, 24, 28, 28, 31, [31], [35], 40 78 16, 18 (?) 79 9, [10 (?)], 10 80 5, 8, 12, 31, 44, 45, 46, 96, 119, 120  
 ἐπιδιδόναι 72 18, 20, 21, [21] 73 30, 37 77 18  
 ἐπιζητεῖν 78 21  
 ἐπικαλεῖν 73 4 79 24  
 ἐπικείμενος. See X  
 ἐπιμέλεια 80 97, 98. See also IX s.v. ἀρχιδικαστής  
 ἐπιπορεύεσθαι 71 20  
 ἐπιστέλλειν 73 30  
 ἐπιστοφαναὸν 76 [38]  
 ἐπιστολή 76 [7]  
 ἐπιτηρητής. See IX  
 ἐπιτρέπειν 76 2  
 ἐπίτροπος 74 36  
 ἐπιψηφίζω 76 [37]  
 ἐποίκιον. See VII (b) s.v. ἼΑθ-λίτου, Κινέας ἕ.  
 ἐπομύναι 78 11  
 ἐργάζεσθαι 79 16 80 2, 15, 24, 26, 36  
 ἐργαστήριον 80 43  
 ἐρεοῦς 74 3  
 ἐρμηρία. See XII  
 ἐρχεσθαι 76 39 79 21 80 3, 6, 13, 16, 47, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 55, 57, 59, 64, 66, 68, 70, 72, 74, 75, 76, 78, 80, 85, 87, 91, 93, 102, 104, 109, 112  
 ἐσθής 74 3  
 ἔτερος 71 9  
 ἔτος 71 [16] 72 [4], [5], [19] 73 [9], [32] 74 35 76 50, 50 77 14, 15 78 3, 3, 20  
 εὐ 74 36  
 εὐγνωμονεῖν 78 19  
 εὐεργετῶν 79 27  
 εὐεργέτης 78 1 79 1, 28  
 εὐθενία 79 26 (?)  
 εὐλαβής 80 61  
 εὐνοεῖν 74 6  
 εὐνοος 74 5, 16, 30, 32  
 εὐρίσκειν 79 10  
 εὐσέβεια 80 5, 12, 31, 44, 46, 119, 120  
 εὐσεβεῖν 76 [2], 42  
 εὐσεβής 76 13, 28, 31 (?) 78 1, 3  
 Εὐσεβής 73 34 75 [17] 76 50 77 17  
 εὐτελής 79 22  
 εὐτυχή 76 41  
 εὐτυχεῖν 76 11  
 εὐτυχής 76 13

Εὐτυχής 73 34 75 17 76 50 77 17  
 εὐχαριστεῖν 74 36  
 εὐχή 79 18  
 ἐφεξής 79 16  
 ἔχειν 74 [3], 20, [34], 37, [41] 75 13, 76 5, 9 79 19, 25  
 ἔως 72 7 80 1, 27  
 ζωή [74 16] 79 18  
 ἦ 71 23 74 26 76 43 78 26  
 ἠγέσθαι 76 43  
 ἠδεσθαι 76 [8]  
 ἠλικία 74 23  
 ἠλοκόπος. See X  
 ἡμέρα 71 24 78 23 80 9, 30, 33, 34, 54, 58, 77, 79, 80, 85, 89  
 ἡμέτερος 74 [13], 21, 28, 36  
 ἡμιονικός [74 2 (?)]  
 ἡμισυς 73 18, 20, 22 74 8 80 56, 65, 67, 69, 71, 73, 74, 75, 79, 95, 121, 122  
 ἡνίοχος. See X  
 ἦτοι 79 24  
 θάνατος 76 7  
 θεά 80 10, 11, 22, 23, 64, 66, 69, 70, 72, 74, 75, 76, 78, 80, 81, 82, 83, 85, 87, 90, 107, 109, 112  
 θεῖος. See VIII  
 θέλειν 74 4, 7, [16], 20, 28, 32, 37  
 θεός. See VIII  
 θρησκία (= -εια). See VIII  
 θυγάτηρ 80 132, 133, 134, 143, 147, 165, 171, 172, 199, 214, 217, 237, 250, 296, 298  
 θυμελικός 76 25, 29, 31  
 ἴδιος 76 [6 (?)] 78 6, 10  
 ἱερεύς. See IX  
 ἱερονίκης 76 2, [14], 14 77 6  
 ἱερός 76 7, 13, [15], [17], [18], 23, 25, 27, 29, 30, [31], [34], 35, 36, 40, 41, 43, 43 (?), 44, 45  
 ἱεστία 79 1

ἱκετεύειν 79 14  
 ἱκάν. See εἰκάν  
 ἵνα 76 17, 45  
 ἰνδικτιών. See IV  
 ἰππάριον 80 105  
 ἰππικός 80 10, 22, 28, 81, 83, 90, 97, 98, 99, 101, 106, 108, 118  
 ἵππος 80 10, 22, 28, 81, 83, 90, 97, 98, 99, 101, 105, 108, 118  
 ἴσος 73 10 74 4, 28 76 39  
 καθαρός 72 [16]  
 καθηγεμών. See VIII  
 καθιστάται 74 20 76 43, 43 80 8  
 καθιστάνειν 76 [6]  
 καθοσιῶν 76 38  
 καλανδικός 80 41  
 \*καλαφάτης. See X  
 καλλιέργεια (= -ία) 78 18  
 καλοπαίκτης. See X  
 καλοπεκτης. See καλοπαίκτης  
 καπιτωλονίκης 76 19, [23], 27, 33, 48  
 καρὶς 80 2, 15, 24, 26, 34, 36  
 κατά 71 9, [12], [15] 72 9 73 7 74 15, [16], 35 76 12, 16, 46 78 20 79 [6] 80 5, 31, 44, 45, 46, 96  
 καταδακρύνειν 79 6  
 καταλογεῖν. See IX  
 κατάστασις 80 109, 112  
 κατατάσσειν 76 [24], 28, 31  
 καταφεύγειν 79 26  
 κατιστάται. See καθιστάται  
 κείσθαι [74 11]  
 κεράμιον. See XI (a)  
 κεφάλαιον 76 4  
 κηδεμονία 76 8  
 κηδεμών 74 20, 35, 42  
 κηθαυρος. See X s.v. κηθαυρός  
 κηθαυρός. See X  
 κίνδυνος 78 27  
 κλειδίον 80 28  
 κληρονομία 74 27  
 κληρονόμος 74 23, 27, 34, 44  
 κλήρος 73 17 74 39, 39

κλειδίον. See κλειδίον  
 κλύζειν 79 24 (?)  
 κναφεύς. See X  
 κοινοβιον. See VIII  
 κοινωνεῖν 74 15  
 κοινωνός 77 [11 (?)]  
 κολλυβιστικός 71 10, 13, 19  
 κόλων 76 32, 48  
 κοσμ[ 77 10 (?)  
 κοσμεῖν 77 7  
 κοσμητής. See IX  
 κούρσορ. See IX  
 Κράστη. See VIII  
 κράτιστος 75 [1] 76 36 77 1  
 κρίνειν 76 11  
 κριτήριον. See IX s.v. ἀρχιδικαστής  
 κτᾶσθαι 74 38  
 κτῆμα 78 14 79 12, 15, 17, 21 80 24  
 κτήνος 74 [2], 13 79 8  
 Κύρεια. See IX  
 κυρρευτικός 74 7, 20, 38  
 κύριος 72 [4], 6 75 7 76 12, [39], 42, 50 78 28 79 28  
 κόμη 72 8, 9, 11, 12, 14 74 38 80 21  
 λαμπρός 75 [1], [1], [4] 76 17, 24, 28, 31, 34, 36, 36, 41, 42, 42 77 1, 1 78 5  
 λαχανόσπερμον 74 18  
 λέγειν 74 9, 14 79 9  
 λειτουργία 76 5  
 λεπῖς 80 2  
 λεπτός 72 [9]  
 λινοῦς 74 3  
 λίτρα. See XI (a)  
 λόγιμος 76 17, 34, [36], 41  
 λόγιος 76 4  
 λογιστήριον 74 9  
 λόγος 72 [6], 19 78 25 80 1, 4, 5, 7, 8, 12, 14, 15, 17, 19, 21, 25, 26, 29, 30, 31, 33, 35, 36, 44, 46, 47, 49, 50, 51, 52, 54, 56, 58, 60, 61, 62, 63, 65, 67, 71, 73, 82, 85, 88, 91, 95, 96, 100, 103, 104, 105, 106, 107, 113, 115, 117, 119, 120, 246, 260

λοιπός 80 124  
 λοιπός 74 8, 10, 15, 27, 43  
 μάγειρος. See X  
 μακρότιος 78 29  
 Μαξιμιανός (adj.) 76 [13], [15], 23, 27, 30, 34, 39, 50  
 μάρτυς 79 23  
 μεγαλοπρεπής 80 62  
 μέγας 76 [1], [14], 15, 24, 25, 28, 29, 30, 31 78 1 80 24, 26, 33  
 Μέγιστος 75 [17] 77 [16]  
 μειζότερος. See IX  
 μέλις 73 9 80 11, 15, 23, 25, 27, 27  
 μέλλειν 74 22  
 μένειν 79 9  
 μέρος 72 9 74 4, 8, 10, 11, 15, 28 80 10, 28, 82, 83, 90, 97, 98, 99, 101, 107, 108, 118  
 μετά 76 [2] 79 11, 25, 27 80 47, 52, 53, 55, 57, 59  
 μέχρι 71 [24]  
 μή 71 20 74 25 75 18 76 [6], [6], 6 78 26 79 15  
 μηδέ 71 [21], [21], [22] 76 [7]  
 μηδείας 71 21, [23] 74 45  
 μήτηρ 73 3, 5, 13 74 14 78 14 80 223  
 μητροπολίτης 76 32, 48  
 μηχανουργός. See X  
 μικρός 74 9  
 μῦμος. See X  
 μνήμη 78 9  
 μοιριάς. See μυριάς  
 μονάρταβος 73 18  
 μοναστήριον. See VIII  
 μοναχ[. See VIII  
 μου[ 74 4  
 μουσικ[ 76 10  
 μουσικός 76 13, 15, 23, 27, 30, [34], [40], 43, 45  
 μυριάς 80 121, 122, 123  
 \*ναυπηγής. See X  
 ναύτης. See X  
 ναυτικός. See X  
 νέμειν 76 [8]  
 νέος 80 15, 36





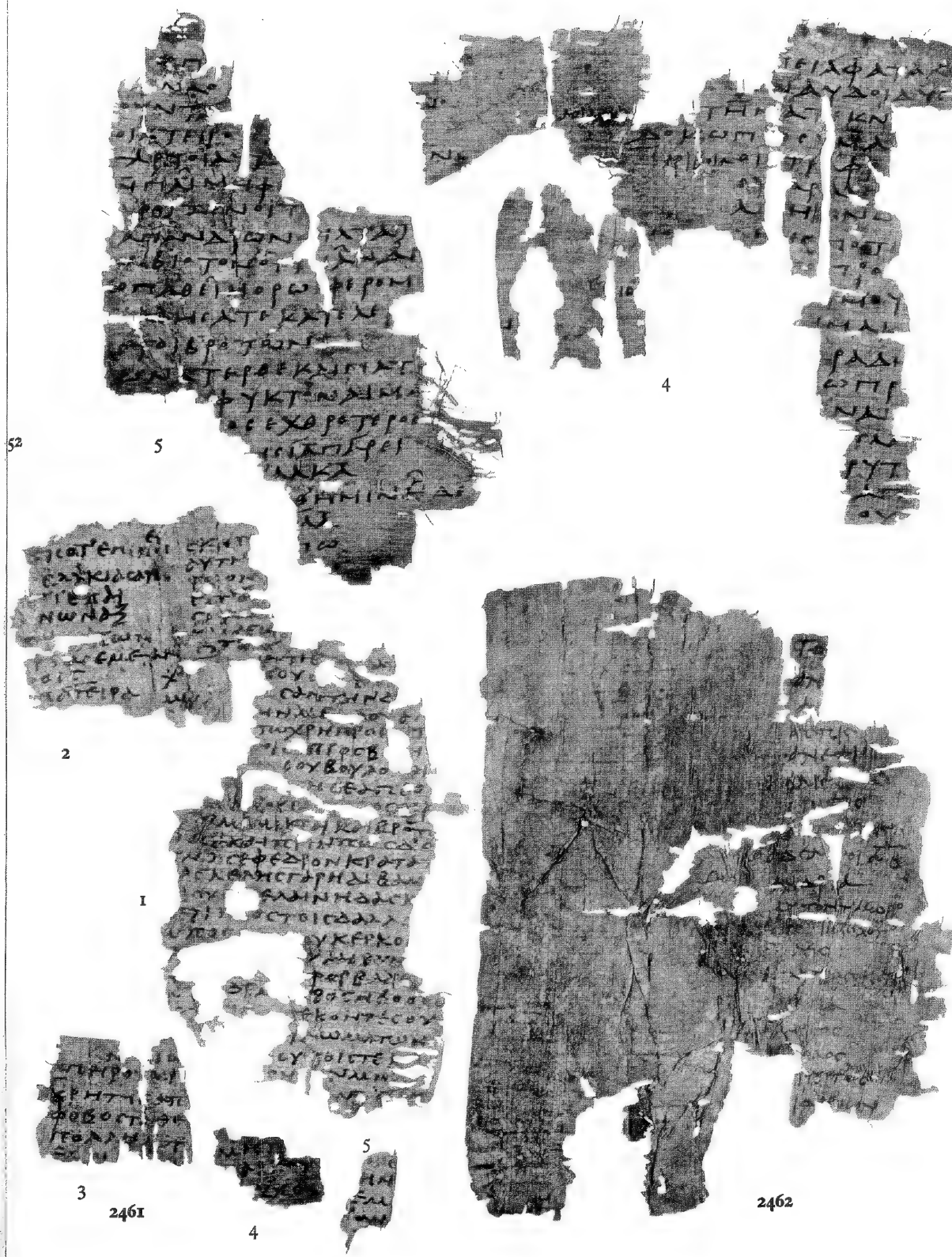
224

INDEXES

*δγής* 72 18  
*δγρός* 74 25  
*υῖος* 71 3 73 12 74 21, 27, 41 78 8, 13, 29 80 126, 130, 131, 133, 148, 149, 170, 192, 203, 207, 213, 216, 225, 233, 234, 239, 251, 295  
*υμέτερος* 77 10 79 2, 3, 7, 14, 18, 23  
*υπάρχειν* 73 15 74 [1], 24  
*υπατία* 78 3  
*υπάτισσα* 80 19  
*υπατος* 76 1, 4 78 4  
*υπέρ* 71 21 75 19 78 19, 26 79 18, 19 80 9, 26, 30, 41, 45, 50, 51, 52, 54, 58, 60, 85, 89, 92  
*υπερφύεια* 78 12, 15, 22  
*υπερφυής* 78 4 80 18, 37  
*υπευθυ[* 76 7  
*υπηρεσία* 78 21  
*υπηρετεύ* 74 33  
*υπό* 71 12 73 23 74 24, 29 76 3, 9

*υπογράφειν* 76 24, 28, 31 78 10  
*υποδοχή* 80 123  
*υπονηματογράφος*. See IX  
*υπόστασις* 78 28  
  
*φαγεῖν* 79 25  
*φακός* 72 [9], [16]  
*φανερός* 76 [8], 40  
*φέρειν* 80 124  
*φιλάνθρωπος* 76 3, [10]  
*φιλιτιανός*. See IX  
*φιλικάλεια (= -ία)* 78 17  
*\*φιλόπτωχος* 79 3  
*φιλοτιμία* 80 [19], 33, 62, 100  
*φιλόχριστος*. See VIII  
*]φορ( )* 80 258  
*φόρος* 74 25 78 19  
*φροντίζειν* 74 43  
*φρουρά* 76 [7 (?)]  
*φυλακή* 78 25 80 84  
*φυλάσσειν* 76 [10]  
  
*χαίρειν* 76 [2], 15 78 10  
*χαλκεύς*. See X

*χάρις* 79 22, 26  
*χείρ* 78 10  
*χορ( ) (?)* 80 276  
*χορτοθήκη* 74 11  
*χορτοπαράλημπτης*. See X  
*χορτόσπερμον* 80 21  
*χρεία* 76 6 80 4, 7, 14, 17, 84, 102  
*χρηματισμός* 73 28  
*χρηματιστής*. See IX s.v. *ἀρ-χιδικαστής*  
*χρόνος* 71 [24] 74 16, 30 79 10  
*χρυσός* 74 1 76 38  
*χώρα* 74 41  
  
*ψηφίζειν* 76 47  
*ψήφισμα* 76 [8], 34, 45, 49  
*ψώμων (= ψώμων)* 79 25  
  
*ώνευσθαι* 73 9 74 18  
*ὤς* 73 26 77 7 78 30 79 [7 (?)], [8 (?)], 9, 21, 24 80 124  
*ὤστε* 71 7



2

1

3

2461

4

5

2462

Handwritten text fragments in Greek script, including the word 'ΕΠΙΣΤΟΛΗ' (Epistle) at the top right. The fragments are arranged in a roughly rectangular shape.

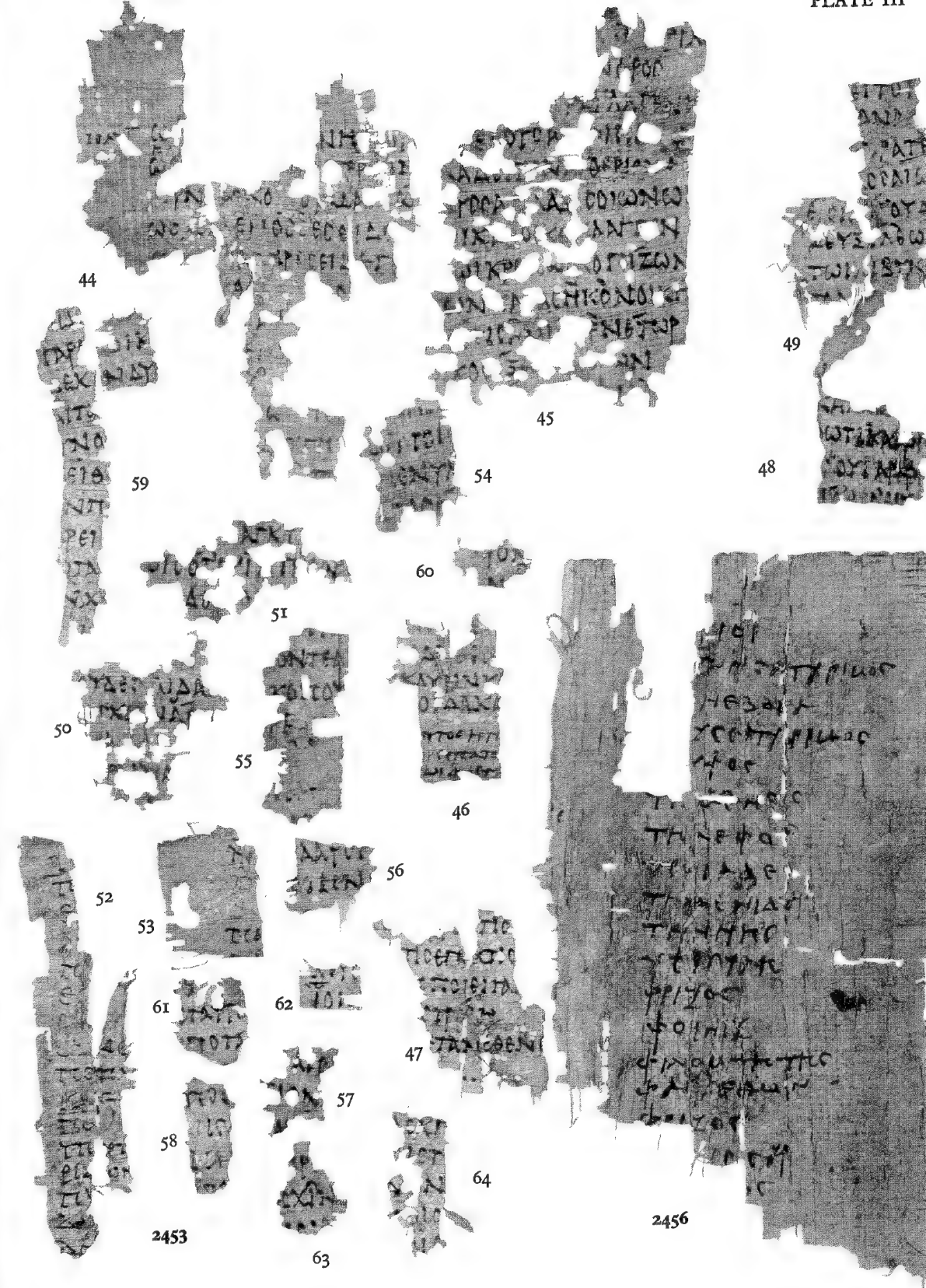
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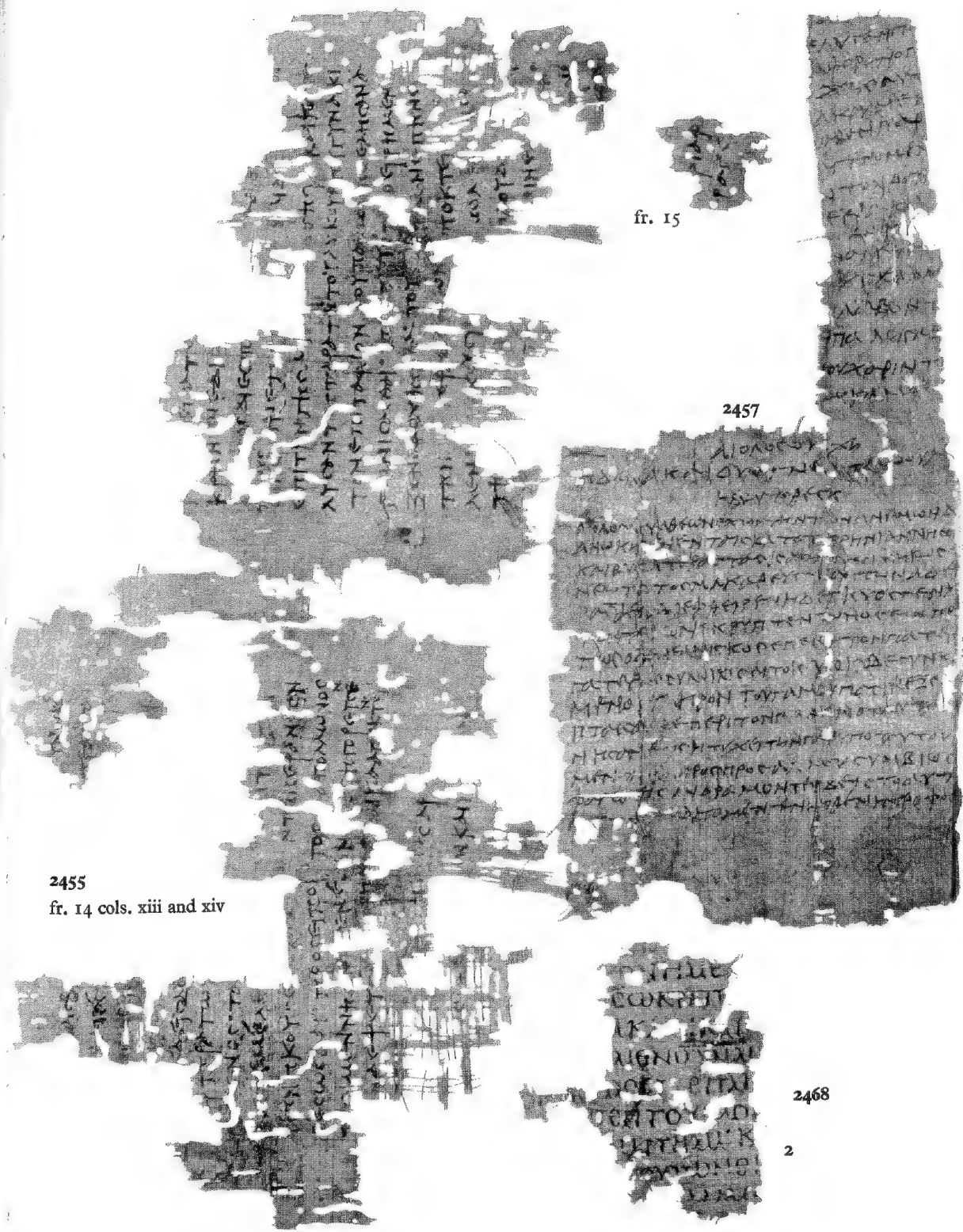
Fragment of handwritten text in Greek script, featuring several lines of text. The word 'ΧΡΥΣΟ' (Chrysostom) is partially visible.

6

Fragment of handwritten text in Greek script, showing several lines of text. The word 'ΕΠΙΣΤΟΛΗ' (Epistle) is partially visible at the top.

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fr. 15

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2455  
fr. 14 cols. xiii and xiv

2468

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6 col. vi

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8 col. viii

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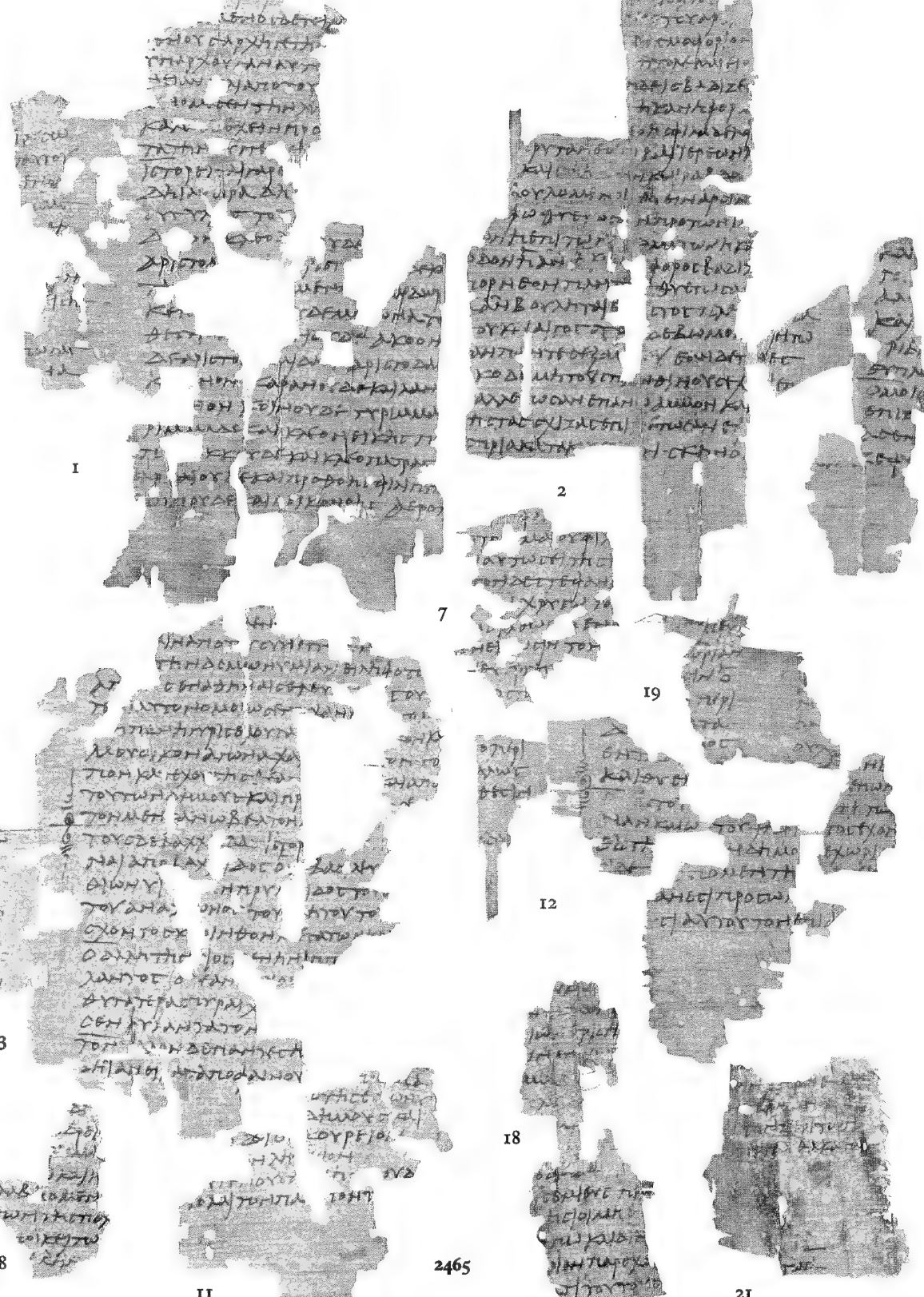
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2

2459



I

2

7

19

12

3

18

8

2465

II

21





2458



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 ΑΝΑΡΤΗΘΟΥΚΑΙ ΔΩΤΟΥΛΛΟΤΙ ΩΝΒΙΩΝΟ  
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2471

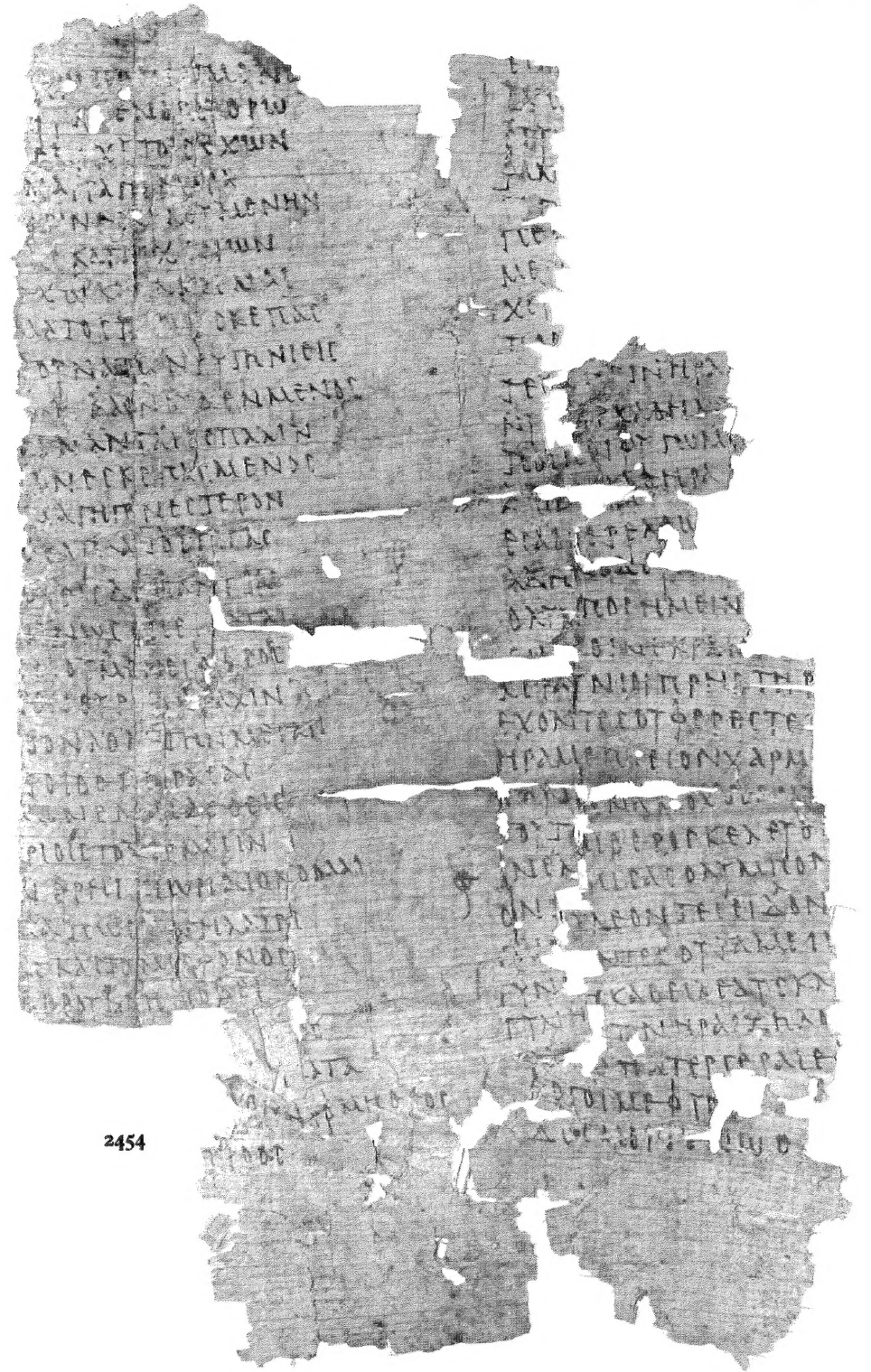
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 ΔΕΙΒΑΤΗΝΤΑ  
 ΤΑΚΟΝΤΟΔΕΤΟΥ  
 ΕΩΤΟΝΗΝΕΓ  
 ΔΙΑΤΗΝΑΠΡΑ

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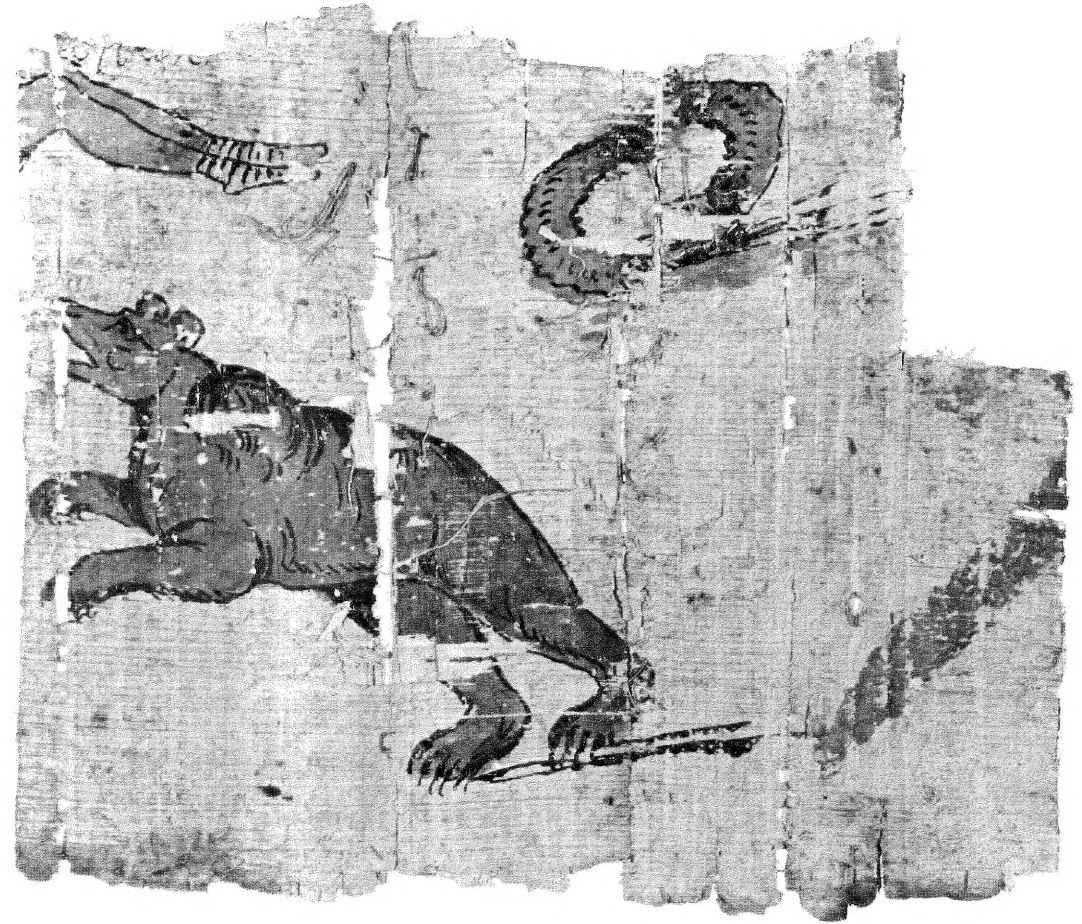
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2459

2463



2454



2470